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Latest Disarmament Initiatives Viewed, Assessed

'Real Nuclear Arms Cuts'

LD3001164892 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—The latest disarmament initiatives advanced by Russian President Boris Yeltsin add new provisions to the START Treaty and will result in a drastic and real nuclar arms cuts in Russia and the United States, Aleksey Obukhov, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman, told reporters on Thursday [30 January].

The move to stop the production of modern Tu-160 and Tu-95MS heavy bombers is a limitation which was not envisaged by the START Treaty, he said.

Russia's refusal to engage a big number of heavy bombers in military manouevres is also a novelty, according to General Viktor Koltunov, a spokesman for the General Headquarters of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth. Earlier up to 60 bombers were allowed to take part in each manouevres, now their number is being cut down to 30, he explained. In fact, Russia is drastically decreasing the scope of such military manouevres, he added.

The Russian president also suggested to cut down two times the number of submarines carrying ballistic missiles on combat duty.

"Russia is ready to renounce the practice of combat patrolling of such submarines" on a mutual basis, Obukhov said, adding the country intends to fulfil its start commitments earlier and will cut its strategic offensive arms in 3 years instead of the envisaged 7 years.

Russia plans, on an equal basis with the United States, to eliminate up to 2-2.5 thousand nuclear warheads, and the question will be discussed at the forthcoming meeting between the Russian and U.S. Presidents in Camp David, Obukhov disclosed.

Both Obukhov and Koltunov denied mass media allegations that the United States is eliminating outdated weapons while Russia is liquidating the modern ones. Obukhov expressed the hope the sides would not strive to get unilateral advantages.

Yeltsin Actions Viewed

PM3001153392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 1

[Commentary by M. Chikin: "What Gorbachev Began, Yeltsin Has Deepened. Yesterday the Russian President Made a Statement on Nuclear Policy"]

[Text] The problem is simple. Upper Volta with missiles, minus the missiles. What will be left? Correct.

Now it has become clear once and for all what the president had been doing in the two days of his absence. The result of the "difficult Monday" is the statement on the reduction of nuclear missiles. The basic idea is to eliminate them all. But in stages. And to set up for the purpose of verification an international agency to control the whole production process—from the laboratory to the nuclear graveyard. (Why then the laboratory at all?) The doctrine of reasonable minimum sufficiency of nuclear and conventional weapons is being put into effect. Although the statement actually talks about the adoption of decisions on conditions of reciprocity, a large part of the statement is devoted to unilateral measures.

Well, first, you usually take a gift along when you go visiting. And there are a lot of guests to call on. And second—this is for those who are worried about Upper Volta—We do NOT [published in upper case] now have another way out. We simply have nothing to give but the missiles. It is like this: Either we sit contemplating our warheads and go hungry, or we try to somehow extricate ourselves from this situation and accommodate the West's conditions. Especially in view of the fact that no one is intending to go to war with us at the moment—they too stand to lose in such a war. And if in questions of disarmament we were formerly guided by ideological considerations, now the time has come to ask ourselves the question: "And how much does all this armada cost?" And who knows, maybe if Gorbachev had resolved on such steps earlier, we might be living differently today? Not for nothing does the statement propose such measures, for example, as carrying out more modest exercises—with just 30 heavy bombers; and keeping submarines carrying ballistic missiles in port—one-half of them to begin with, and then as seems appropriate. The seven year plan for taking strategic missiles off combat alert is to be achieved in three.

As for reducing tactical nuclear weapons, here it is worth remarking that they are in the armories of virtually all the Armed Forces' combined units. One-third of sea launched and one-half of antiaircraft warheads are to be scrapped. And no more are to be produced. And this could mean that the the Army will soon have nothing to do.

So why is all this necessary? The country must be fed. Everyone is looking forward so much to the day when we will destroy these missiles that the Americans, for example, are even ready to pay for it—after all, the destruction of missiles costs a huge amount of money, and the Russian taxpayer cannot manage it alone. All this will be subject to discussion in the president's forthcoming tour and his meetings with foreign colleagues. It is worth remarking, however, that he is hardly going to come back carrying a big check issued in exchange for missiles. In talks on this topic the West will most likely proceed on the basis of the Washington conference on coordinating aid to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

The whirlwind schedule of foreign visits is amazing everyone. Five or six hours in London, then meetings scheduled by the hour in New York, and the following morning—into an airplane and a flight to the U.S. capital; from there by helicopter to Camp David, three hours with Bush there; then to Canada, and home the next morning.

We are working with the speed of rockets. And why do we need them?

'Sensational,' 'Enigmatic' Proposal

LD3001195992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Commentary by M. Osokin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As First Deputy Prime Minister Burbulis recently said figuratively, Russian foreign policy should be determined by five basic principles: efficiency, dignity, accessibility, dynamism, and kindness [all five words begin with same letter in Russian]. Well, I don't know about kindness in politics, but everything seems to be in order as far as dynamism is concerned. Sensational events are following one after the other. [video shows archive film of various missiles, Yeltsin, and Kravchuk]

Russia is ceasing production of all long-range cruise missiles for the Air Force and Navy. Over 1,000 nuclear charges have been removed from combat duty, and we are proposing to the Americans to reach agreement on reducing strategic warheads to 2,000 on each side. And, perhaps, what is being most talked about is President Yeltsin's statement about excluding U.S. targets from the list of targets for Russian missiles.

This is the most sensational initiative, but also the most enigmatic. Meticulous Western politicians did not restrict themselves to expressions of joy, but immediately began to ask various questions. For example, where will these missiles be targeted now? As THE WASHINGTON POST noted, will they not simply be pointed out towards space? And some U.S. military men express doubts about the real value of such steps. They are not familiar with the mechanism of such agreements since, in practice, it is not possible to verify exactly where missiles are aimed.

It is not surprising that people in the West are impatiently awaiting Yeltsin's speech tomorrow in the UN Security Council. And all the more so since attempts to get clarifications from our military men have not been successful. It transpired that, and judging from the reactions of the generals, they, themselves, did not know the details, and Yeltsin's words about a change in strategy were rather unexpected for them.

And not just for them. For example, Ukrainian President Kravchuk says that Yeltsin did not consult him when he took the decision to review the list of missile targets. So, it seems that new details from the Russian president's speech in the Security Council are awaited with great interest by politicians and military men, not only in the West, but also in our country and in the Commonwealth countries.

Further Assessment of Plan

PM3001214292 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Sergey Guk report on interview with Aleksandr Savelyev, participant in the Soviet-U.S. START talks, under the rubric "Express Analysis": "It Would Not Have Been a Bad Idea To Estimate Costs Before Going Public With the Superdisarmament Plan"]

[Text] That is the view of the expert Aleksandr Savelyev, participant in the Soviet-U.S. START talks, vice president of the independent Russian Institute of National Security and Strategic Studies, and member of the London International Institute of Strategic Studies.

The Soviet [as published] disarmament proposals obviously were prepared in great haste, not everything in them had been properly thought out, and the most important thing is lacking: Will Russia's economy gain by the forthcoming supercuts, or, on the contrary, will it be unable to withstand the additional expenditure, running into billions, that has fallen to its lot?

In Bush's case, Savelyev stated, there are four clearly identified arms reduction items that eventually will give the United States $50 billion. In Yeltsin's case, there are any number of such points, but there is not a word about savings, and this prompts dispiriting thoughts: Did anyone make any elementary economic calculations? What will the elimination of these not insubstantial arsenals cost and will Russia derive any benefit? If so, how much and when?

No, Boris Yeltsin's idea does not in itself provoke a negative attitude in our expert. He only cannot eliminate the feeling that the package of proposals bears the stamp of some degree of haste and lack of forethought. As if the president's speech was drafted at the last moment, after information had leaked out on Bush's intention to put forward a unilateral disarmament initiative, and the speech writers were given a familiar command: Catch up and overtake America.

Aleksandr Savelyev's feelings are based on facts. Here is one: Boris Yeltsin promises to reduce to three years the seven year timetable for the implementation of the START Treaty. Why? This is not going to reduce the costs—and they run to billions. Worse: The expenditure will be incurred in the most crucial years of the economic reform, when every million counts.

What need is there to take on unmanageable enhanced countercommitments for eliminating strategic offensive arms ahead of schedule? Is it in order to demonstrate our peaceableness? Or in the hope of receiving additional

benefits of some kind from the West by way of reward? But the United States and its allies are ready to help us anyway, and they will not give us more than they can afford, however fast we disarm.

Furthermore, by destroying delivery vehicles without due forethought we could, in our haste, inflict a crushing blow on the environment, especially as we have no shortage of experience in that department: The destruction of medium-range missiles by blowing them up led to considerable pollution of the soil and water resources and livestock deaths. Add to that the accelerated elimination of thousands of weapons (world science has yet to invent a better method of destroying them than underground nuclear explosions)—and the full extent of the problem becomes clear.

Our expert also pointed to some highly enigmatic points in the Russian president's speech. For instance, the point about our commitment to the ABM Treaty was followed promptly, with no transitional passage, by the point about the Russian leadership's desire to develop a global defense system together with the United States. But the treaty and global defense are mutually exclusive: Before you can talk about universal defense, you first have to replace the ABM Treaty with a new agreement. One suspects that the text of the speech was prepared by old apparatchiks, who are old hands at peace initiatives and are more concerned with the propaganda side of the matter than with logic and common sense.

The statement also mentioned the problem of strategic stability and the need to strengthen it. In our expert's view this hardly is compatible with one of the proposed steps—ending submarine combat patrols. Whichever way you look at it, the naval component is the most invulnerable part of the strategic triad, and is therefore regarded as a stabilizing factor. And keeping the submarines moored (so that they become accessible targets) will only produce the opposite effect.

Our expert sees the reason for this initiative as most likely being the shortage of resources. In which case, where does strategic stability come into it? And it is pointless to expect the pragmatic Americans to reciprocate, in a sudden fit of generosity.

Aleksandr Savelyev's answer to the traditional question—have we made more concessions and undermined our own security?—was a resolute "no." Despite all the reductions, he assured us, we still have tremendous might—sufficient to destroy the whole world. So, in that respect, you can rest easy. Here another question is more apposite: How carefully considered are our disarmament moves?

In the speech we once again heard the thesis on Russia's commitment to the principle of reasonable sufficiency, which our ears have been buzzing with in recent years. Only Eduard Shevardnadze once had the courage to admit that no one in our country really knows what it means. We have no criteria. Sufficiency—for what? For defense against whom? What threat are we expecting? There are no answers, but nonetheless everyone unites in swearing loyalty to this principle.

Will the world become safer following the implementation of the two presidents' plans? Certainly, our expert is convinced: What we have here is not only good intentions as regards disarmament, but concrete steps to reduce the nuclear missile risk. And another optimistic point: These steps are unilateral, and therefore their implementation does not require special talks to be held. Because there is no better way to ruin any initiative than to start talks: The experts can argue for years about levels and sublevels, hedge the reductions about with countless conditions and reservations, and drag things out endlessly.

You can believe the participant in the START talks: He knows what he is talking about.

Military 'Pleased' With Cuts

LD3001223792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A spokesman for the General Staff of the Commonwealth Armed Forces told journalists in the presence of an official of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs today that the military is pleased with the cuts in the Army.

[Correspondent A. Peslayk] As Ilya Nabatov said, in the paper this morning and at a news conference this evening, representatives of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the General Staff of the combined Armed Forces of the CIS attempted to decipher what Yeltsin said and what his printed words meant. But try as they might, they weren't very successful. It is difficult to make a disarmament initiative tangible, and the spokesmen were rather vague. [video shows speakers addressing journalists]

Asked what sum could be saved, and where the money would go, Ambassador Obukhov referred to the promises of military economists. No central body for reductions exists as yet. Although everyone knows that the government and the ministry are responsible for this, there is no such body. Let us single out a few things. First, a comparison between the counter-initiatives of Yeltsin and Bush reflects the priority of reducing military budgets as a whole and nuclear weapons in the first instance. Both we and the Americans are halting production of heavy bombers and the development of strategic missiles, and we are eliminating certain types of tactical nuclear weapons. But, secondly, the Yeltsin initiative is wider and more comprehensive, and embraces all aspects of the disarmament process and the whole range of nuclear armaments—strategic and tactical, on land, at sea, and in the air. Third, the initiatives are aimed at a radical reduction of our military potential.

The new initiatives were cited more often than explained at the news conference. Journalists listened and asked, but the ideas hung in the air. The period of yes-men is past, but there is clearly a lack of readiness for lively presentation!

'Breakthrough' in Thinking

PM3101100692 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent V. Smelov: "Breakthrough in Military-Strategic Thinking"]

[Text] Vienna, 30 Jan—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statement "On Russia's Policy in the Sphere of Arms Limitation and Reduction" was assessed highly at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. The text has been disseminated among the delegations of the countries taking part in this forum, at which a plenary session was held.

Vladimir Shustov, head of the Russian delegation, who spoke at the session, stressed that it is a question of large-scale initiatives aimed at finally overcoming the consequences of the policy of confrontation and cold war and achieving radical progress in strengthening stability and security. He said that it is important that Russia's initiatives do not only touch on the quantitative parameters of its military potential. They "herald a breakthrough in military-strategic thinking, opening up the way to overcoming the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and totally eliminating nuclear weapons."

The U.S. President's statement, which sets forth a program of major cuts in the U.S. nuclear potential, "indicates that it is realistic to achieve these goals in the process of the development of relations of partnership, if not alliance, between the nuclear powers and all interested states in their efforts aimed at creating a stable and secure world order," the diplomat believes.

Dwelling on the provisions of the Russian Federation president's statement that relate directly to the Vienna talks, V. Shutsov stressed that Russia reaffirms at the highest level the USSR's specific commitments in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction.

Kazakhstan Welcomes Initiatives

OW3101121992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan has welcomed Russia's disarmament initiatives put forward by President Yeltsin on Wednesday [29 January]. A statement issued Friday [31 January] by the press-service of President Nazarbayev's office points out that "the wish to see nuclear weapons totally eliminated is one of the major goals of Kazakhstan's policy".

The statement says that Kazakhstan supports Russia's "essentially sound" stand toward the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons on parity basis. Nevertheless, the statement says, Kazakhstan, as part of the former Soviet Union, "has for dozens of years produced nuclear weapons and developed a corresponding infrastructure", the fact that should be viewed as "a historic reality which cannot be ignored". The presidential press-service pointed to the need for working out a unified defense concept for all member states of the Commonwealth "which has not been done yet". It also said that "progressive ideas expressed by the head of the Russian Federation need in some points clearer definitions and should be coordinated with all CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states".

Gorbachev Says 'Important Step'

LD3001173992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1653 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—"The specific measures on arms limitation and reduction proposed by the president of Russia are an important step in the right direction," Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Socio-Economic and Political Research Foundation, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today. "I welcome the new initiatives in one of the decisive areas of the movement toward a new world order, and see in them a continuation of what was done for many years in the framework of the new political thinking and yet more proof of the historic importance of the breakthrough in Soviet- U.S. relations, which has had fundamental consequences for all global development."

Mikhail Gorbachev commented that the complicated processes in the Commonwealth of Independent States and the threat of a weakening of control over nuclear weapons have made new steps in the disarmament sphere especially topical. It is easier to make them today, "because the way has already been paved".

"I do not know the details of the plans which Boris Yeltsin has taken to the United States," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "I hope they have been worked on professionally." He also remarked that George Bush's and Boris Yeltsin's proposals "do not dovetail very much, at first glance". In Gorbachev's opinion, some of them, even those which sound identical, need to be finalized with specific examination by negotiations. The business of coordinating them and matching them to each other is a task for specialists, with the direct participation of politicians. Obviously, serious work lies ahead in Camp David, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed.

Surveillance of Nuclear Specialists Noted

924P0056A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 28 Jan 92 p 1

[Report from the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA rapid response service: "'007' Moves Into Action"]

[Text] Events in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] will in no way allow CIA secret agents to slacken up—or those of Mossad for that matter. The new mission assigned to aces of the foreign intelligence services, judging from published material in the French newspaper JOURNAL DU DIMANCHE and graciously reprinted by PRAVDA, consists of "intensified surveillance of specialists in the sphere of manufacturing weapons of mass destruction, specifically in the territory of the Central Asian republics."

Well, what about ours?—the patriotically disposed reader might ask. Where is it—that always wide-awake eye of counterintelligence? We got in touch with the Center for Public Liaison of the Russian Security Ministry.

"I have no information on surveillance being conducted by foreign special services on scientists from Central Asia," stated General A. Karbainov. "But it does not seem very likely to me that such an effort would be organized by whatever intelligence service."

We phoned another individual, well informed in this sphere, and asked several questions in this regard. (He agreed to reply only if RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA would keep his identity secret).

Is there any genuine foundation to information which has arisen to the effect that the American and Israeli special services have instituted surveillance on our nuclear physicists?

—"Yes, there is. I would put it this way—they are attempting to shadow people. And they are not hiding this."

Isn't this openness dictated by the fact that the governments of these countries are very much alarmed at the possibility that nuclear technology will escape, and they are using this means to try to convey their alarm to us?

—"I think that is true. The entire world is alarmed. It would be irresponsible before the entire world to permit the spread of nuclear weapons when we are standing on the threshold of sharply reducing them as a precursor to their complete destruction. Although prospects for this are not a day away, or even a year."

On the other hand, however, the conversion, cessation of operation, and dismantling of nuclear reactors and laboratories are making unemployment a reality for extremely highly qualified specialists. Yet our government is not very disturbed about this. One can understand our nuclear physicists.

—"Yes, the government has to be wise and far-sighted here."

What is your attitude towards open surveillance of people in the territory of a foreign state?

—"It is better to know what they are doing openly than to be met with a 'surprise.' This is an open and shut question for intelligence people.

Comparison of Yeltsin Statement on Disarmament

PM3001114192

Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian on 30 January 1992 carries in its First Edition on pages 1-2 the apparent text of Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin's 29 January statement on disarmament issues. Comparison of the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA item, entitled "On Russia's Policy in the Sphere of Arms Limitation and Reduction," with the translation of the Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television version published in the 29 January Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, pages 1-3, reveals the following variations:

Page 1, column two, first full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...for civilian purposes and the implementation... (omitting "for social issues")

Column two, third paragraph, sentence one reads: ...offensive weapons: We have submitted for ratification to... (rewording)

Sentence four reads: Even before the treaty on strategic offensive weapons has come into force, Russia has taken a whole range of major steps aimed at cutting the strategic arsenal: About 600 land... (rewording)

Column two, paragraph five, single sentence reads: ...TU-95MS heavy bombers is ceasing. We are stopping... (rewording)

Page 2, column one, second full paragraph, sentence two reads: ...in strategic offensive weapons, down to 2,000 to 2,500 strategic nuclear charges on each of... (rewording)

Column two, first full paragraph, sentence two reads: ...faithful to the year-long moratorium on nuclear... (rewording)

Page 3, column two, fourth full paragraph, sentence one reads: ...people and proposed a radical reduction in nuclear potentials and the strengthening of measures of stability in relations between our countries. We have had preliminary consultations with each other on these questions and are engaged in a dialogue... (rewording)

Kozyrev Interviewed on CSCE Meeting in Prague

LD3001190592 Moscow TASS in English
1835 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Prague January 30 TASS—The European process passes on from stating its principles to their implementation. This goes together well with admitting the ten countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as full-fledged participants, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in an interview with ITAR-TASS. Kozyrev participated in a meeting of the conference of foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Helsinki process.

Kozyrev said that this sets the beginning to a Euro-Asian process which must bring all republics of the former USSR into a community of civilised states.

Joining the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe can help countries of the Commonwealth to overcome difficulties which they encounter, including economic difficulties. "In this connection I would like to note that the Prague meeting is of much importance for life in countries of the Commonwealth", Kozyrev said.

He said that foreign colleagues at the forum spoke highly of the Russian president's new initiatives. "The courage of unilateral steps was noted particularly", Kozyrev said. "Impression was produced by the fact that Russia promptly worked out new proposals and is already prepared to participate in an international process as a great power. A vacuum has not formed in the world."

Regarding Russian-Czechoslovak relations, the minister said that an honest large-scale interstate treaty has been drafted. "We have invited Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to pay a visit to Moscow to sign this document", Kozyrev said.

Estonian Delegation Participates

OW3101011492 Moscow BALTFAX in English
2040 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service of the Estonian Foreign Ministry has informed BF [BALTFAX] that an Estonian delegation led by Foreign Minister Lennart Meri arrived in Prague yesterday in order to take part in a foreign ministers' meeting within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The meeting will discuss the strengthening of security in Europe, the reduction of nuclear armaments and the admission of former Soviet republics to CSCE as new members.

Mr. Meri is also going to meet his counterparts from Germany, Austria, Italy, Cyprus and northern countries.

IMF Favors Aid to Commonwealth Countries

LD3001141292 Moscow TASS in English
1234 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington January 30 TASS—"The policy of the International Monetary Fund pursues the purpose of helping the economies of Central and European states, as well as of the former Soviet republics, get rid of the administrative-command system," deputy managing director of the IMF Richard Erb told a conference on European security and regional stability at the Washington Foreign Institute.

Erb said that the fund was now confronted with the additional and important problem of rendering aid to the Baltic states, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and the other republics that have replaced the former USSR, i.e. states that are now living through a transitional economic period. He believes that IMF experience may prove useful in these republics, may help them overcome tensions and obstacles liable to crop in the process of implementing comprehensive programmes to establish macroeconomic stability and carrying out structural reforms.

Erb also noted that the IMF had already started a dialogue with each of the 15 republics. A special department has been set up in this international financial organisation, which is dealing with problems facing the Baltic states and the former Soviet repblics. The IMF is also advising former Soviet republics on ways to replace centralised planning by a market economy, to shape "a sound and trustworthy macroeconomic policy, on methods to privatise and demonopolise state enterprises and create viable financial bodies. [single quotation mark as received]

Erb said the IMF leadership was taking every possible measure to accelerate the admission of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia to the International Monetary Fund, which has received their applications. He noted that the Russian Federation played a particularly important role in the economy of the region due to its huge population, territory and economic potential. The reforms in Russia have made a good, but difficult start due to the bold programme to liberalise prices. Erb warned the Russian leadership against letting soaring prices turn into an unbridled inflation.

"During my recent visit to Russia, on the eve of the Christmas holidays, I met President Yeltsin and was impressed by his will to press for necessary budget and financial steps to back the initial measures to set free the prices in Russia," Erb said.

Ukraine, Azerbaijan Hold Oil Talks With Iran

LD3001121392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Negotiations among the delegations of Azerbaijan, Iran, and Ukraine began yesterday [28 January] in Kiev. The talks deal with the issue of oil and gas supplies. The Iranian experts have worked out a project of a transport network with a capacity of 75 billion cubic meters of gas and a project of a contract for delivery of (?4 to 5) million tonnes of oil to Ukraine. As was predicted at the negotiations, already this year the Ukraine will get (?3 billion) cubic meters of Iranian gas.

Chinese Volume of Bilateral Trade Decreases

LD3101024992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 27 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 27 Jan (TASS)—Internal political instability in the republics of the former Soviet Union and the decline in production which has led to the disruption of export deliveries—these are the basic reasons why the volume of bilateral trade fell last year, stated Liu Xiangdong, a representative of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade.

Speaking today at a briefing for Chinese and foreign journalists, Liu Xiangdong stated that the volume of trade between China and the former USSR decreased over the past year by 12.1 percent, representing 3.9 billion dollars. He said that this was also brought about by the transition declared by Moscow from barter to calculations in freely convertible currency. [passage omitted] It was stated at the briefing that the volume of Chinese exports as a whole increased by 15 percent over the past year, and had come to nearly 72 billion dollars, while imports had increased by 19.5 percent, representing 63.79 billion dollars. The quantity of direct foreign investment in the economy of the PRC increased by 68.3 percent (11.06 billion dollars), while the sum of foreign credits received in 1991 increased by 18.8 percent (6.37 billion dollars).

U.S. To Have Access to Archives on POWs

LD3001163792 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York January 30 TASS—The Russian parliamentary commission studying the archives of the USSR State Security Committee (KGB) is prepared to allow American specialists to study them to establish what happenned to U.S. prisoners in Vietnam. The commission's chairman, General Dmitriy Volkogonov said this in an interview to THE NEW YORK TIMES, published on Thursday [30 January].

Volkogonov said that to this day the commission had not yet discovered any confirmation for statements that KGB Retired General Oleg Kalugin made in the United States, that at least three U.S. prisoners-of-war were interrogated by his associates between 1975 and 1978 in Vietnam.

According to the Vietnamese authorities, all the U.S. prisoners-of-war were released in 1973, when the U.S. withdrew its troops from Vietnam. But 2,273 U.S. servicemen are still regarded as "MIA" (missing in action). The U.S. press has recently run assertions that some American prisoners-of-war had been taken to the Soviet Union.

Volkogonov said the commission he heads had discovered in the KGB archives the information on about 22 thousand Amercians who were freed by the Soviet Army from German camps for prisoners-of-war at the end of World War Two and brought to the Soviet Union. Most of them were shipped home via the port of Odessa.

Commonwealth

Working Group To Draft Council Agendas

PM3001163992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ulitenok: "The Working Group's Job"]

[Text] Minsk—The statute on the working group for the organizational-technical preparation for and holding of sessions of the Councils of the Heads of States belonging to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and their governments was recently adopted. I. Korotchenya, the 44 year old chairman of the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet Commission on Questions of Glasnost, the Mass Media, and Human Rights, was appointed coordinator of the working group. PRAVDA's correspondent asked him what this group's job will be.

"There are no precise rules governing our activity at the moment," I. Korotchenya replied, "this is a completely new undertaking. I would remind you that initially it was proposed that an executive committee of Commonwealth states be created, but eventually we settled simply on a working group. It has a staff of some 70 people, 22 of whom are representatives of CIS states. To safeguard their independence, it has been decided to grant them privileges and immunity identical to those enjoyed by staffers of the so-called international civilian group.

"The group includes organizational, international-legal, and juridical departments and an economic administration. We will draft the preliminary agendas of the councils' sessions and will analyze requests received from the CIS states. It is also our job to provide information on the activity of the councils of the CIS heads of states and governments outside the Commonwealth."

Regional Communications Association Observed

LD3001141792 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Telepnev]

[Text] Moscow January 30 ITAR-TASS—The newly established regional communications association is called upon to ensure coordinated actions in the field of telecommunications and postal service.

The association includes the communications organisations of eleven former Union republics, with exception of Georgia and the Baltic countries. The new association is open for the admission of the communications organisations of other states.

Under an agreement signed by all CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] members, the association's supreme body is the Council of Communications Chiefs—members of the association, with the functions of the council chairmen being performed alternately by each communications chief.

Vladimir Bulgak, minister of communications of the Russian Federation, has been elected the chairman of the council for 1992. This step, he said, is prompted by the need for close cooperation and coordination of efforts to maintain stable operation and develop the mutually dovetailed communications networks of independent states.

The range of matters discussed by association members was wide enough: the regulation and utilisation of the radio band, cooperation with international organisations, the joint financing of the scientific and technical developments concerning the entire system, a procedure for mutual settlements for services between the member communications organisations.

It is noteworthy that communications chiefs fully agreed on all the matters discussed, the minister pointed out.

Aware of the importance of steadily functioning communications between CIS member states, the communications chiefs declared for keeping the communications system in the form in which it had existed in the former Soviet Union.

Military

Strength of Armed Forces To Drop to 2.5 Million

General Details Cuts

OW3001170992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By diplomatic correspondents M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Maj.-Gen. Viktor Koltunov, spokesman for the General Staff, has said the strength of the Commonwealth Armed Forces will total 2.5 million men once the personnel cuts suggested by President Yeltsin have been made.

Addressing newsmen in the Russian Foreign Ministry on Wednesday [29 January], the general explained that the 700,000 reduction announced by Moscow on December 5 was to be made from the overall number of Armed Forces staff, while under the Yeltsin plan the same strength would be deduced from the number of people in active military service.

General Koltunov said Russia intended to reduce the number of large-scale military exercises. He reminded newsmen the Soviet Union and the United States had agreed on certain confidence- building measures with respect to exercises involving up to 60 heavy strategic bombers. Under the Yeltsin plan, the number of such bombers will be reduced to 30.

The Soviet-US Treaty on Strategic Offensive Weapons is still awaiting ratification by the Russian parliament, but Russia has already begun to reduce the nuclear stocks on

its territory. According to Gen. Koltunov, some 600 sea- and land-based strategic missiles have already been withdrawn from operational service, and some 130 ballistic silo launchers have been or are about to be destroyed. Gen. Koltunov said a whole range of other systems were not to be upgraded. And, he added, the dismantling of nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory had already begun.

Ambassador Aleksey Obukhov, who represented the Russian Foreign Ministry at the news conference, said the US and Russian presidents had come out with their new initiatives at a time when fear was being removed from relations between the two countries. Russia and the United States had a chance to become allies, Ambassador Obukhov said, and Moscow would not want its missiles to cover targets in the United States or US missiles to cover targets in this country. He felt disarmament was a stage-by-stage process that was to be carried out on a parity basis.

30 Percent Cut by 1 July

LD2901222992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2115 GMT 29 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent has learned from well-informed sources at the General Staff of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces that, by 1 July, the central apparatus of the Armed Forces is to be reduced by 30 percent. Around 160-170,000 of the already announced 700,000 reduction in the Armed Forces is accounted for by members of the officer corps. The officers are to be discharged by 1 January 1993.

Latest Black Sea Fleet Developments Viewed

Still 'Focus of Attention'

PM3001165192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin: "Black Sea Chronicle. While Politicians Are Arguing..."]

[Text] In recent days the Black Sea Fleet has again been at the focus of attention by public opinion and the mass media. We have therefore decided to report on events in the Fleet in greater detail today.

What B. Yeltsin Said on the Moskva Antisubmarine Cruiser

According to Captain First Rank Andrey Lazebnikov, chief of the Black Sea Fleet Press Center, who attended the meeting between the President of Russia and the crew of the Moskva antisubmarine cruiser, Boris Yeltsin said in particular that the Black Sea Fleet, with its more than 200 year long history and traditions, is performing strategic tasks now, as it did in the past. It has been and remains an operational-strategic combined unit.

Prior to my departure for the United States where strategic arms reduction questions will be discussed at a meeting with President George Bush, the president of Russia went on to say, I have decided to avail myself of the opportunity to meet Black Sea Fleet servicemen face to face during my visit to Novorossiysk, which is why I am here on the Moskva antisubmarine cruiser. Russia has been, and for the time being still is, a nuclear power. We need nuclear arms as a deterrent to aggressive forces. Black Sea Fleet ships carry nuclear weapons. Consequently, the Fleet is called upon to perform security tasks in the interests of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] as a whole.

Yeltsin was asked a question about Crimea's future, to which he replied:

"Crimea is the Crimeans' concern. It is for them to decide its future."

Who Swore Which Oath

Finally the information on military oath taking has been summed up. This is what Captain First Rank Valeriy Dolgoya, assistant commander of the Black Sea Fleet, told me:

The oath of the CIS Strategic Forces was sworn by 87 percent of the young servicemen due to take this oath; 12.8 percent have refused... They may swear the Ukrainian oath. Time will tell. It is not long now until 14 February, when a political decision will be announced. In the meantime I would like to warn zealots against spreading disinformation and rumors, whipping up tension, and pitting Ukrainians and Russians against each other. Right now there already are attempts to divide the Fleet along national lines, and to work out in percentages how many people back Ukraine and how many back Russia. This is fraught not only with the destruction of the Fleet, but also with confrontation between the military.

According to Colonel Vladimir Indilo, deputy chief of the Fleet's Construction Directorate, 602 of his men, including 15 officers and 14 warrant officers, have put their signatures to the Ukrainian oath, and one servicemen swore allegiance to the CIS. In the Black Sea Fleet's Air Force, 52 percent of servicemen took the strategic forces oath.

It is typical that comments on these events in the news media are ambivalent, and essentially contradictory. For example, it was reported that after the personnel of an escort ship brigade under the command of Captain Second Rank Yuriy Shalyt took the Ukrainian oath, an order allegedly came from the Black Sea Fleet commander to remove the brigade commander and Captain Second Rank Nikolay Zhibarev, his chief of staff, from their posts.

But here is what Captain Second Rank Gennadiy Lakshin, Cadre Department chief at the Crimean Naval Base (to which the brigade is attached) told me:

"For the time being we have received no order to remove Captains Second Rank Shalyt and Zhibarev from their posts."

And what is the situation as regards the Ukrainian oath? I put this question to Vice Admiral Aleksandr Frolov, commander of the Crimean Naval Base.

All the young sailors at our base, and there 156 of them, have taken the strategic forces oath. No other oath was taken. As for Shalyt's brigade, it is true that during the oath-taking young sailors there did try to take the Ukrainian oath, and signatures were even collected from those who were prepared to take this oath. They account for 31 percent of the total. However, this cannot be described as having taken the oath. It would be more appropriate to describe it as a collection of signatures, a sociological opinion poll, since oath-taking involves an entire ritual. And there was nothing of the sort. People were taking matters into their own hands. This is why some people have hastened to present wishful thinking as fact, but it cannot be denied that there are people in the brigade who would like to take the Ukrainian oath.

As for Shalyt, he is currently performing his duties on one of the ships in Sevastopol.

Why the Ukrainian Flag Was Hoisted

Canards are still flying around in Sevastopol. The news media have carried a sensational story claiming that the yellow-blue flag was hoisted, as a sign of allegiance to Ukraine, on one of the Black Sea Fleet ships stationed in Poti (Georgia).

I set about investigating this. Most of the ships have been withdrawn from Poti, including the base minesweeper under the command of Lieutenant Captain Maksim Gorskiy. What happened on this ship?

I cite Captain First Rank Yevgeniy Orlov, commander of the offshore defense brigade:

Instead of the Navy flag, the St. Andrew's flag was hoisted on the ship, and on arrival at the Crimean shores the sailors hoisted the Ukrainian state flag on the right halyard, as is the custom when arriving at a foreign port. The latter was very small, much smaller than the St. Andrew's flag...

Going by international maritime regulations, this would indicate that a Russian naval vessel had entered a foreign state, in this case the Ukraine. Since ships have not officially switched to new naval symbols, the homemade flags were soon taken down and instead of the St. Andrew's flag the normal Navy flag was hoisted astern, the flag which, for the time being, is in use on all the Navy's vessels.

So this is the story. What is the conclusion? There can only be one: While politicians are arguing, people often remain in the dark. Clearly, this is also why people have taken matters into their own hands on the minesweeper.

Meanwhile Food Can Only Be Delivered to Poti by Sea

The explosive situation in Poti is also affecting the naval garrison. Because of the blockade of the city, as a result of which air, rail, and road transport cannot be used, an extremely tense situation has developed as regards food. The sailors' food stocks are running out.

A decision has been adopted to deliver food to the sailors of the "besieged" garrison by sea. The first to arrive in Poti was the GS-212 hydrographic vessel, which delivered 400 kg of food. Naturally, this is not enough for the garrison. However, a substantial food shipment is due to arrive soon. For this purpose the Buzuluk refrigerator vessel was urgently loaded and sailed out of Sevastopol 28 January.

Arrest of Officer Denied

OW3001161692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Black Sea Fleet has dismissed the rumours that a commanding officer, Yuriy Shalyt, was arrested. These rumours come from Kiev. According to them, this happened at a facility located 130 kilometers off Sevastopol. It is also alleged that other commanding officers at the facility were fired because their personnel had pledged loyalty to the Ukraine.

No one ordered to dismiss Yuriy Shalyt, and consequently he continues to perform his duties. As for his arrest, it was out of the question, the press center pointed out.

'Indignant' Over Charges

OW3001160692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Black Sea Fleet, the news media reports that the Fleet's commander Admiral Kasatonov refused to meet with Ukrainian MPs [members of parliament] are tactless, to say the least. Such reports were published by central and Ukrainian TV and by Ukrainian radio. Moreover, they implied that the refusal was deliberate, said the Fleet's press center.

The MPs arrived in Sevastopol unexpectedly, without asking in advance for a meeting with the commander whose work schedule is extremely intense. All this made it impossible to grant their request for a meeting at the time in question, the press center explained.

Decree Issued on Northwestern, Baltic Troops

LD3001162392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] A decree by the president of Russia has been received in Riga regarding a transfer of the Northwestern troops and the Baltic Fleet to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation.

Officers' Coordinating Council Holds Meeting

LD3001232792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In Moscow today, 120 men in military uniform gathered to determine the Army's attitude to the internal and foreign policies of the members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

[Correspondent S. Sokolova] A total of 114 delegates—representatives of all military districts—attended the first session today of the Coordinating Council of Assemblies of Officers of the CIS Armed Forces. On the agenda for the two days of debates are discussions of the situation in the CIS Armed Forces, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statement on the state's policies for limiting and reducing armaments, and organizational aspects of the Coordinating Council's work, which represents the interests of the Armed Forces officer corps.

Colonel General Pavel Grachev, first deputy commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, stated at the start of the meeting that the functions of the assemblies of officers might now be substantially extended. They might include the submission of proposals to the supreme military leadership on matters of operational training, combat training, organizational development, and, naturally, issues that were previously within the main remit of assemblies of officers. The basis of these is the social protection of officers in all military collectives. The conference examined a package of documents and proposals for the 14 February Minsk conference of heads of state.

Removal of Commanders Contravenes Accords

PM3001133592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 4

[Unattributed report incorporating answer to readers' query by Lieutenant General V. Samoylov, deputy chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces Main Personnel Directorate: "Do Commanders Have No Rights?"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the telephone did not stop ringing in the editorial office. The same question was being asked: Why have the three commanders of Odessa, Carpathian, and Kiev Military Districts been simultaneously released from their duties and posts? Was this agreed with the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]? The Ukrainian president was reproached for going back on his word, having previously stated that those who did not take the oath of allegiance to Ukraine would continue their service in the same units and the same posts. [passage omitted]

And how did the CIS Armed Forces Main Commissariat react to this? Lieutenant General V. Samoylov, deputy chief of the CIS Armed Forces Main Personnel Directorate, answered this question as follows:

"This decision contravenes a whole series of agreements. It was made unilaterally without coordination with the other Commonwealth states or the CIS Armed Forces Main Command, which contravenes the the Agreement on the Creation of the CIS, which stipulates guarantees for servicemen's rights, and it also contravenes the Statement of the Heads of CIS Member States dated 16 January 1992."

At present the commanders are under the jurisdiction of the CIS Armed Forces commander in chief.

Tiraspol Army Transferred to Commonwealth Aegis

PM3001134192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Colonel N. Mulyar: "The 14th Army Is Leaving the Odessa Military District. Details Still Classified"]

[Text] Because the Ukraine has rejected the 14th Army stationed in Tiraspol, a decision has been adopted to transfer it from the Odessa Military District troops to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces.

A group of officers from the Odessa Military District staff and the Ground Forces is working in Tiraspol. The commission is headed by Lieutenant General V. Shilov. Your correspondent telephoned him and asked him to tell him about the situation in which the transfer of the Army units is taking place. However, the old tradition of "classifying" things that people have known for ages was put into effect. Alluding to a different conversation, which was not over the telephone, Viktor Yegorovich refused to explain the situation.

Political & Social

Active Preparations for CPSU Congress Noted

Strategic Goal 'To Seize Power'

OW3001213992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1841 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Regional communist organizations of the former Soviet Union are actively preparing for the 29th Congress of the CPSU which can take place already in March-April this year, as coordinator of the so-called

"All-Union Committee for the Unity of Communists" Sergey Skvortsov told reporters Thursday [30 January].

Skvortsov criticized the policies of the former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the present Russian President Boris Yeltsin, as well as price liberalization. He said the communists believe it is necessary to promote state control over the economy, in particular, the introduction of state orders and strict control over prices, as well as restoration of state monopoly on foreign trade.

Skvortsov noted that "the creation of a strong opposition to the government" is the most urgent task of his committee. In his words, the strategic goal of the communists, as well as of any other political party, is "to seize power."

In response to a question by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, Skvortsov acknowledged that "personal ambitions of some communist leaders are hampering the unification process."

He expressed hope that "about 1 million members of the former CPSU" will take part in the work of the forthcoming congress. He said the communists are ready to cooperate on some problems with national patriotic groups.

Prejudice 'Beginning To Wane'

LD3001220592 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Excerpts] Moscow January 30 TASS—A strong opposition is vital for successful economic and political reforms, which should be led by the revived Communist Party, a leading Russian Communist told reporters in Moscow today.

Within just a few weeks the Communist Party can become the strongest party in the country, Sergey Skvortsov, coordinator of the All-Union Committee for Communist Unity, said, explaining the tasks of the body, set up last September. [passage omitted]

"Anti-Communist prejudice is beginning to wane. The country needs a Communist Party and it will have one," he said. Judging by the experience of East European states, a renewed Communist Party will have 5-7 per cent of its former membership—about one million people," he added. [passage omitted]

The Committee for Communist Unity opposes free prices, saying a nation-wide referendum should be called on this issue and supports state intervention in the economy.

The USSR has not been liquidated legally and the Commonwealth of Independent States is an ephemeral structure without a future, Communists said.

Komsomol Conference Convened

LD3101023292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1608 GMT 27 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Igor Malyarov was elected first Komsomol secretary at the XXIX city conference convened for the purpose of restoring the Lenin Komsomol organization. The former secretary of the CPSU Committee Yegor Ligachev and the former secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Gennadiy Zyuganov addressed the neo-Komsomol audience with the opening speech.

Malyarov also heads the organizing committee for convening a congress, which would legally restore the all-Union Lenin Komsomol organization (former Communist Youth Organization). The date of the congress is likely to be appointed on Februry 1-2 in Pinsk (Brest region) at the restoring congress of the Belarussian Komsomol.

Population's Social Life 'Getting More Active'

OW3101070192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0625 GMT 31 Jan 92

[From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the DATA news agency, sociological studies show that the population's social life is gettng more active: 26% express willingness to take up their own business, 24% want to get a job that pays more, 21%—to set up or expand their own farms.

Various groups of populations assess their possibilities differently. Thus, the youth put their hopes mainly on high education, re-qualification and business—a share of those willing to do their own business among people under 24 is four times larger than that among respondents under 55. Low-skilled clerks and workers hope to get higher pays from administrtion. In fact, the respondents' desire to do some business growns as their professional and educational level rises and is proportional to the growth of their incomes.

The National Public Opinion Studies Center experts believe more well-off groups of population mainly rely on their own forces and are prepared for the market economy. It can be explained by the experience they might have gained while working in joint ventures, cooperatives, etc., as well as by their relatively high standards of living. Precisely these groups of population may form in the future under favorable conditions a new middle class of medium and small owners-entrepreneurs. However, sociologists indicate that for the moment just conditions for the formation of this class are being created.

Polls View Political Future, Reform, Unrest

LD3101105992

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2000 GMT on 25 January, in the "Vesti" newscast, carries a short announcer-read item entitled: "Vox Populi, Professor Grushin's Service." The announcer says: "The subject of another survey by the Vox Populi service is the forecast of the situation in CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries in the immediate future. The question was asked of public opinion leaders and political and economic representatives."

The screen shows the following figures forecast: "improvement in the situation—26 percent; deterioration in the situation—46 percent, cataclysms and war—15 percent."

The announcer then gives the figures for a second question on whether respondents would like to return to the times before 1985. The screen shows the percentage of those who answered "yes" in various groups: "executive authorities of Moscow—40 percent; Russian parties—31 percent; Russian executive power—20 percent; parties of the former Union—16 percent; Russian people's deputies—7 percent; and press and cultural representatives—5 percent."

Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1300 GMT on 29 January carries an item on a Moscow poll on market reform and confidence in the government.

The item states: "In the opinion of a majority of Muscovites, the basic reasons for today's difficulties in implementing economic reforms in Russia are to be found in mistakes and miscalculations by the Russian Government in carrying out the reform, and the lack of preparedness of the population for the transition to market relations. Such are the results of a telephone poll of 1,000 residents of the capital conducted for TASS by the Moscow sociological agency and the Institue of Sociology. The results of the poll also show that 43 percent of Muscovites polled have doubts about the ability of the current government of Russia to bring the republic out of the crisis."

Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English at 2200 GMT on 30 January carries an item on a Moscow opinion poll showing the relationship between price increases and the threat of popular unrest.

The item states: "The removal of price control of Russia has resulted in a sharp drop in living standards. Over 50 percent of polled Muscovites have said that further price rises will be disastrous for them. The threat of popular unrest is growing. According to the same public opinion poll, 45 percent of the population will support actions against the economic policy of the government, while 43 percent will refrain from such actions. Teachers, medical workers, miners, and seamen are on the theshold of strikes."

Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 2100 GMT on 30 January carries an item on a poll conducted by "Mneniye", an independent service, of Muscovites regarding the reintroduction of price controls.

The item says: "An opinion poll has shown that over half of all Muscovites favor the introduction of ration cards for principal foodstuffs, which, they say, should be sold at regulated prices. Only slightly more than 7 percent are categorically opposed to ration cards. Another 16 percent are less vehemently inclined. One in four Muscovites still has vodka vouchers outstanding for three or more months. Tobacco vouchers for the same period have not been exchanged by 24 percent of the public, and sugar vouchers by 11.5 percent of those polled. This does not include those who have collected vouchers for lesser periods."

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 31 Jan

LD3101084392 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 31 Jan 92

["Review of Moscow Press"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS-ITAR—All the Moscow newspapers carry articles on Boris Yeltsin's tour of Western countries. PRAVDA describes Yeltsin's stay in London. Although brief, the paper says, it was abundant in "symbolism" and political meaning. The six-hour visit left a good impression on British politicians and press.

Russian and American proposals on nuclear reductions are widely discussed as well. ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA says the Russian proposals are much more extensive than those made by Washington. The next step must be taken by the U.S.

PRAVDA describes the new initiatives as untraditional in their approach, says that much attention is paid in these proposals to confidence-building measures, thus reducing the anxiety in the world about the nuclear arms of the former Soviet Union.

Yeltsin's initiatives reflect radical changes in our military doctrine, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote on Friday [31 January]. They mean that we practically stop competing with the U.S. in military field.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interviewed Professor Mikhailov, chief of Soviet nuclear programme. Mikhailov is quoted as saying there are ten to fifteen thousand nuclear experts in the country now, two to three thousand of them possessing the top secret information. At the same time he believes there is no risk of their fleeing from the country, despite the difficult economic situation in the former Soviet Union.

RABOCHAYA GAZETA analyses the rumours of possible resignation of the Russian government and that the

new cabinet will be headed by the "disgraced" Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. According to Rutskoy's press service these forecasts are nothing but rumour.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA interviewed Valentin Fedorov, chief of the Sakhalin administration who criticised the government committee which wants to draw foreign companies to invest into the development of the Sakhalin Shelf. Fedorov describes this as the old "single-moment" approach.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA quoted Ground Force Deputy Commander-in-Chief Eduard Vorobev as saying "combat training in the Army this year goes on no less orderly than in previous years".

Russia experiences lack of money in circulation rather than abundance, Central Bank Chairman Georgiy Matyukhin told SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. According to Matyukhin, Russia is not afraid of the "rouble intervention" from other former Soviet republics and their introducing their own currencies. Inflation in the USSR has never been the result of abundance of paper money.

Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said he received invitations from Jordanian and Israeli leaders to visit their countries and maybe he would accept them, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA wrote. "But I must be here now", he is quoted as saying.

Yeltsin's First Trip Abroad Continues

Yeltsin, Major Hold 'Honest, Frank Dialogue'

LD3001180992 Moscow TASS in English
1641 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov and Yuriy Levchenko]

[Text] London January 30 TASS—Great Britain and Russia "reached progress on the path of building new relations", British Prime Minister John Major told reporters on Thursday [30 January] after a four-hour meeting with visiting Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Major, who was speaking right outside his residence, said both countries were always interested in promoting better relations, but today the general values of democracy, of a free economy, peace and stability add new impetus to the relations. The prime minister welcomed the latest Russian disarmament moves and said the nuclear deterrence force should exist at a low level and be based on the most stable systems. Great Britain will maintain a minimum of strategic deterrence force which will not threaten anyone, according to Major. He praised the Russo-British declaration, which was signed today, saying it may become the basis of an official treaty on bilateral relations which may be concluded in the near future. Great Britain will support the forces of democracy in Russia, will promote its joining the International Monetary Fund and will continue to insist that Russia is allowed to postpone its foreign debt payments, according to Major. The British Government will grant 280 million pounds sterling in export credits to Russia in 1992 and will suggest the European Community to conclude a trade and economic agreement with Russia, the prime minister said. Great Britain will also help Russia eliminate nuclear weapons liable for destruction and will send a group of experts to Moscow to solve technical details, Major added.

Russia will also get British help in other military fields, including the restructuring of the Armed Forces according to the needs of a democratic society, Major said, adding he agreed with the Russian president they should establish a reliable and direct communication link between themselves. Consultations on the peaceful use of the talent of Russian military scientists will continue, according to him.

Major said he invited the Russian president to pay an official visit to Great Britain later in the year and is delighted that the invitation was accepted.

Major and Yeltsin are leaving for New York late on Thursday [30 January] to attend a U.N. Security Council meeting. Friendship and partnership dominated the meeting with the Russian president, Major said, expressing the hope the two themes will be characteristic of the coming U.N. Security Council meeting.

Yeltsin, in turn, thanked Major for his hospitality, saying that the talks were "very substantive, very positive and very interesting". The sides had a very "honest and frank dialogue", which should always characterise Russian-British relations. "I have nothing to add to the ten points mentioned by Mr. Major—things we discussed in private and with experts," Yeltsin said. "I want to emphasise that Russia has at last cast aside the communist shackles and embarked on a civilised road of development. There is no other way. This is the last chance for Russia and we will not divert from this road—the road of democracy, freedom, human rights and citizen rights, the road of civilised market development, and the road of varied forms of property ownership, including private property," he said.

"Reforms, which we, in the Soviet Union, had delayed for five years, began on January 2 of this year, and are, naturally, proceeding very toughly. Nevertheless, we declare that we will stay the course, although our people, the people of Russia, will have to face severe difficulties, especially after the introduction of free prices. We are certain that by the end of the year we will see signs of economic stabilisation, prices will begin to stabilise and living standards will rise," he said.

Russian reforms could fail only if there is universal discontent. If this happens "new leaders, who will pursue police and dictatorial methods" will come to power in Russia, Yeltsin warned. "This means that the entire international community, including Great Britain, has a stake in Russian reforms. We appreciate the prime minister's support for reforms in Russia," Yeltsin said. Russia will remember those who support it, he said. The Russian president said he plans to pay a "full-scale" visit to Britain in the first half of this year, and invited John Major to visit Russia in the second half of the year. Mr. Major accepted the invitation. Speaking to reporters, John Major said he had no doubts that Russia, led by Boris Yeltsin, will continue its disarmament work, especially in superpower relations.

In turn, Yeltsin said that he respected the British position on its deterrent forces. "We do not want to debate this subject, or speculate on it in the mass media," he said. The military doctrine of the former Soviet Union should be changed "as well as the direction towards which our remaining missiles will be aimed", Yeltsin said.

Commenting on Russia's membership in the International Monetary Fund, Major said the Republic should become its member by April. Speaking about proposals to set up a stabilisation fund to shore up the rouble, the prime minister pointed out that many difficulties will have to be overcome before such fund can be created, but such a fund is necessary and desirable. Such a fund will undoubtedly be set up in the future, according to John Major. "With such active support by Mr. Major, I believe Russia will become a permanent member of the International Monetary Fund by April, at the latest," Yeltsin said.

Russian-British Joint Declaration Issued

LD3001183992 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] London January 30 ITAR-TASS—Follows joint declaration by the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland signed by President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin and British Prime Minister John Major:

The Russian Federation and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are opening a new page in their relations. They have left behind the period of the cold war, do not threaten each other's national interests and are committed to universal democratic principles and aspirations.

The Russian Federation and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, further referred to as the parties, guided by a spirit of mutual respect and in the interests of developing wide-ranging and friendly relations between their two countries and also their broad cooperation in the international arena, have agreed upon the following:

I.

1. The parties recognise that, with the dissolution of the USSR, a group of independent and sovereign states has joined the world community. At the same time, the Russian Federation continues to be responsible in full for the international rights and obligations previously assumed by the Soviet Union.

2. The parties declare that the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom are friendly states and partners within the international community. Relations between them will be founded on a shared commitment to the principles of freedom, democracy, the rule of law and human rights, and also upon respect for the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki final act, the Paris Charter for a new Europe and other documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

3. Between the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom there are no ideological barriers, and no political impediments to the growth of friendship and mutual understanding between the Russian and British peoples.

II.

4. The parties recognise their special responsibility as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council for the maintenance of the peace and security of all states and to cooperate in the fulfillment of the principles of justice, democracy and common human values. They will do all in their power to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations Organisation.

5. The parties welcome the transition from confrontation to cooperation in Europe and the world, and the resultant strengthening of the security of all states. They declare that their Armed Forces are designated purely for defensive purposes. The Russian Federation and the United Kingdom are committed to the principles that the command, control and management of Armed Forces should be organised within the framework of democratic institutions and the rule of law. The parties attach the highest importance to the maintenance of international stability and security during this time of deep transformation in Europe and in the former Soviet Union. They declare their commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes by political means and through dialogue.

6. The parties intend to undertake all steps necessary to ensure that nuclear weapons, and all other weapons of mass destruction, are held at all times under secure control. They believe that any proliferation of weapons of mass destruction carries serious risks for international peace and security.

7. The parties reaffirm their strong commitment to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention of 1972, and their readiness to conclude an agreement on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons. They will remain in active consultation on these questions, and will also examine the potential for Russian/British cooperation in the destruction and safe disposal of surplus weapons in Russia. The Russian Federation and the United Kingdom will take steps to prevent the transfer to other countries of technology and expert knowledge which could contribute to the development of nuclear armaments and of other types of weapon of mass destruction.

8. The Russian Federation and the United Kingdom will work together to consolidate and carry forward agreements for the reduction of forces and armaments. They look to the very early ratification and implementation of the CFE treaty, as well as of the start agreement and of other measures to reduce nuclear weapons.

III.

9. The parties will organise regular exchanges of ministerial visits. They will encourage inter-parliamentary cooperation and contacts between legislative and executive bodies in the two countries, and will promote the exchange of experience in the preparation and implementation of legislation. The parties will give all appropriate assistance to the development of contacts between public and private organisations in the two countries.

10. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom will hold regular consultations on both bilateral and international questions.

11. The parties favour the further development of exchanges between the Armed Forces and Defence Ministries of the two countries at different levels and will seek to extend the scope and content of these exchanges.

IV.

12. The parties share the view that it is the objective of governments to establish conditions for the development of free enterprise and of the creative abilities of individuals. They are committed to bilateral cooperation in conditions of a free market, economic liberalisation, free trade and sound management.

The parties believe that the integration of the Russian Federation in the world economic system is a vital objective. This process will encourage private investment, stimulate trade and assist the more effective utilization of Russia's large human and natural resources. The United Kingdom will continue to give active support to the Russian Federation's application for membership at the earliest possible time of the International Monetary Fund, and of other international economic organisations.

13. The parties acknowledge that there is potential for a large increase in trade between the two countries. They agree that economic reform, agreement on debt questions and the creation of a clear legal environment for investment will establish conditions for greater involvement by British companies in the Russian Federation.

14. The parties consider it especially important that closer relations in different areas should be developed between all the countries of Europe. The Russian Federation welcomes the United Kingdom's longstanding commitment to an outward-looking European Community. The United Kingdom will continue to support the development of effective ties between the European Community and the Russian Federation.

15. The parties acknowledge the importance of the early signature of a Russian/British treaty, designed to consolidate the fundamental principles of future relations between the two countries.

[Signed] B.N. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation

John Major, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

London, 30 January 1992

'New Page' Turned in Relations

LD3001150192 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Voskoboynikov]

[Text] London January 30 TASS—Leaving behind the "cold war" period, Russia and Great Britain are turning a new page in their relations. They acknowledge that a number of independent and sovereign states have joined the world family of nations after the collapse of the USSR. The Russian Federation is the Soviet Union's successor in respect of its international rights and commitments. Russia and Great Britain are friendly states and partners in the affairs of the international community. All this is indicated in the joint Russian-British "partnership for the nineties" declaration, signed today by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and British Prime-Minister John Major.

The document says that the two nations have neither ideological barriers nor political obstacles to the development of friendship and mutual understanding. Being as they are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, both sides are aware of their special responsibility for safeguarding the peace and security of all states and shall endeavour to settle disputes by political means and through dialogue. They shall exert every effort to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Russia and Britain have announced their intention to take every necessary measures to keep nuclear weapons, just as any other mass destruction arms, under permanent and dependable control. The declaration stresses that any proliferation of mass annihilation weapons is fraught with a grave threat to international peace and security. According to the document, the sides shall explore the possibility of Russian-British cooperation to scrap or make safe use of the armaments reduced in Russia. The declaration notes that the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom shall take measures to prevent the transfer to other states of technologies and know-how, which could be used to develop nuclear and other mass annihilation weapons.

The sides also stressed the exceptional importance of integrating the Russian Federation into the world economic system. The document says that this process will encourage private investment, will stimulate trade and contribute to the more effective use of Russia's large manpower and natural resources. The United Kingdom shall continue rendering active support to the Russian Federation's request for prompt admission to the International Monetary Fund and other international economic organisations.

On the same day British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd and Russian Ambassador to Great Britain Boris Pankin signed a memorandum on the opening of Russian and United Kingdom Embassies on the territories of the two states. According to this document, the sides agree to open a British consulate-general in St. Petersburg and a Russian consulate-general in Edinburgh, the administrative centre of Scotland.

Meets With Thatcher, Labour Leader

LD3001185892 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] London January 30 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin, on a visit to London, met Labour leader Neil Kinnock and former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the afternoon today.

His talks with Kinnock focussed on Russia's economic development and nuclear disarmament. Kinnock praised Yeltsin's proposal to cut nuclear arsenals. The process should be expanded to include all nuclear powers, he said.

Margaret Thatcher said Russia should get more Western aid. Speaking to reporters, she said that Britain was leading among other Western countries in delivering food and drugs to Russia.

Asked if Russia was getting enough aid from the West, Boris Yeltsin said: "No, of course, not. There is much talk about this, but very little action." Russia needs food aid and credits to expand consumer goods production, switch its defence sector to civilian uses and improve food distribution, he said.

Yeltsin Disarmament Message Issued at UN

LD3101063392 Moscow TASS in English 0626 GMT 31 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] U.N. January 31 (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's message to the U.N. secretary general outlining the main priorities in Russian policies towards disarmament was distributed as an official UN document of the U.N. Security Council.

Nuclear disarmament, whose necessity is dictated by interests of the people, will be insufficient if it is conducted within the framework of relations between Russia and the United States, the message says. Other nuclear powers, such as China, Great Britain and France, must not stay aside and increase their offensive nuclear weapons without control, as this may destabilise the international situation in the near future. They must also take part in the nuclear disarmament processes, the message says.

Russia is open to suggestions from other countries concerning international security and peace. Stable peace can and must be guaranteed by joint effort, the message says.

UN Security Council To Adopt Joint Statement

LD3101115892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] President Yeltsin has arrived in New York, where today he will participate in the UN Security Council session at the top level for the first time. The session will be devoted to strengthening the role of the international community in settling conflict situations in the world in the period following the "cold war". Its participants are expected to adopt a joint statement defining the main directions in the activities of the United Nations and the Security Council for the next few years.

It is thought that recommendations will be approved for setting up new mechanisms for collective security, and also a package of proposals regarding issues of arms control and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. In this connection, great attention has been drawn to the recent initiatives in the sphere of nuclear disarmament proposed by the Russian president, and also by the U.S. President. In his speech, Boris Yeltsin is expected to set forth a new military doctrine for Russia, one of a mere defense nature.

Tomorrow, 1 February, the Russian president will hold detailed talks with U.S. President George Bush at Camp David. Canada will be the last point of call on his visit.

Kozyrev, Gaydar Face Journalists

LD3101073392 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 31 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yuriy Kirilchenko and Yuriy Romantsov]

[Text] New York January 31 (TASS)—The problems which were discussed at the meeting between American journalists and Russian delegation, accompanying President Boris Yeltsin in his visit to the UN Security Council forum, included disarmament and the economic situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Editors and correspondents of the leading American newspapers and magazines asked many questions to Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The reporters were told that new Russian proposals resulted from joint work with the American side whom Russia does not treat as enemy any more.

Kozyrev confirmed that Russian nuclear missiles would no longer be aimed at America. At the same time he pointed out that there are many technical problems ahead. Russian Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov added no reciprocal steps have been taken by the U.S. side, so far. Though, he said there is mutual understanding.

There is a possibility Russian nuclear experts can be induced to leave for other countries but there is no evidence anyone has done this and is working for some other country, Russian delegation said.

Gaydar predicted more goods will appear in Russian shops in the nearest three months. He agreed that if this does not happen the situation in the country may deteriorate. He said Western assistance is most needed to stabilise the rouble and to create the stabilisation fund within the framework of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The privatisation programme was also discussed.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere.

IZVESTIYA Views Yeltsin's Itinerary

PM3001135192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 5

[Stanislav Kondrashov report: "Boris Yeltsin's Western Itinerary"]

[Text] London, New York, Washington, Ottawa, Paris—this is Russian President Boris Yeltsin's bursting itinerary for the next 10 days. It has more in common with the previous itinerary—Saratov, Ulyanovsk, Nizhniy Novgorod, Bryansk, St.Petersburg—than the mere fact that "New York" can be translated into Russian as "Novgorod," albeit not "Nizhniy Novgorod."

The main topic will still be the Russian reform, only it will be discussed not among one's own kin but at the summit of international politics and diplomacy. For the first time in recent history, Russia is moving beyond the Soviet Union and "going it alone" as the largest of the 11 new states comprising the fledgling Commonwealth with its unclear future.

Every stop on the itinerary is interesting, but it is worth singling out New York, 31 January—a group portrait at a special UN Security Council session convened on the initiative of the British prime minister. Boris Yeltsin will appear for the first time among world leaders as a head of state, inheriting the USSR's seat as permanent member of the Security Council and, at the same time, the full measure of responsibility for maintaining international security. From the West's point of view, right now nothing jeopardizes this security more than the uncontrolled and, God forbid, nuclear breakup of the former Soviet Union's gigantic, demoralized Armed Forces.

If the term "history" is taken to mean epochal changes, then the Russian president's visit to the United Nations is undoubtedly truly historic. Throughout the post-war period, Moscow's most important leaders have deigned to visit the UN skyscraper on the East River just three times. Three times altogether—including Yeltsin. Even more notable are the tectonic changes between these events.

While spending almost three weeks at the United Nations in 1960, Nikita Krushchev used bombastic speeches and even banged his shoe on the table at a General Assembly session to herald the rivalry between the two systems and the inexorable triumph of socialism over capitalism. He was convinced that even the Third World would embark upon the non-capitalist road and enticed it into alliance, proposing to smash Western supremacy in the United Nations by the "troyka principle"—in other words three instead of one secretary-general: one each from socialist, capitalist, and developing states.

Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking at the United Nations in December 1988 (so recently!), preferred not to mention his distant predecessor. Instead of rivalry and class hatred, he advocated universal human values, deideologization of interstate relations, a total rejection of the use of force, and, moreover, the principle of freedom of choice. His UN speech, like his entire new thinking in fact, gradually reinforced the tentative beginnings of the historic retreat from the CPSU and the USSR under the dual pressure of over-militarization and a deteriorating economy, caused by the inefficiency of the totalitarian bureaucratic system. However, like Khrushchev, Gorbachev visited the United Nations as leader of the Soviet Communists, still deriving his legitimacy from the precepts of the October Revolution and the bolsheviks, unaware that he was destined to be the last in a memorable line of general-secretaries and leaders...

There is little valor in being wise after the event. But upon reevaluating Gorbachev's UN speech now, it is impossible not to be struck by his blindness in respect of prospects for the immediate future. He was a prisoner of the historic Marxist optimism and had lost touch with the truth, claiming to be moving forward with the theory and practice of perestroyka at the ready. At no time did he suggest that within about a year the principle of freedom of choice would turn into the demise of "socialist cooperation" followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union itself. But let us give credit where it is due—he remained true to his proclaimed principle.

The tragic earthquake in Armenia cut Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to New York short. Could he have imagined then that exactly three years later—to the day, 8 December—another earthquake would devour his presidency along with the gigantic state where his was the first but ephemeral presidency. I am thinking of Belovezhskaya Forest and Minsk. It was 8 December 1988 when Gorbachev posed on Governors Island with Reagan and Bush—the outgoing and incoming U.S. Presidents. And it was 8 December 1991 that Yeltsin telephoned not Gorbachev but Bush, having declared that the Commonwealth of Independent States would replace the USSR but that nuclear controls were being kept safe. This moment of contact with the Americans and dissociation with fellow countrymen will be preserved as a detail in history's retentive memory.

So, this is only the third visit to the United Nations in just over 30 years. The top man from Moscow with his finger on the main button is no longer a Communist or a socialist, but a reformer, a populist, and a pragmatist who, for the first time in Russian history, was elected to the presidential post democratically by a nationwide vote. The country did not make a clear break with the past, but it is already post-Soviet, post-communist, post-socialist.

Again in the summer of 1990, having left the CPSU, Yeltsin continued Gorbachev's business in international affairs but went further and displayed more resolve: Ideological barriers between Russia and the West were removed (at any rate, in principle) and we accepted the democratic values of the West, including the supremacy of the individual over the state, and the market economy with private ownership replacing state ownership. Furthermore, we are prepared to lift all barriers along Russia's road to entry into the world economy, but this cannot be done in a day or even a year. After all, the barriers which were erected are not so much inappropriate laws as backwardness, the inability to work, and

corruption and dependency as a way of life which emerged in the previous era.

During the perestroyka years, the USSR in its relations with the West switched from inherent conflict, interspersed with brief periods of respite in international tension, to partnership, tested in treaties on arms reductions, in the matter of the Afghan settlement, in the creation of the anti-Iraq coalition. Drawing a line under the Soviet period, Russia now proclaims in its concept of relations with the West that we are natural allies. That being the case, then suddenly nothing more divides us. However, declared principles are no more than words, and they do not change one iota of the reality, where the dominant issues are the former USSR's terrible economic collapse and the still non-functional and underdeveloped new model of a political structure. Can it be that our empty—quite empty—food stores are the natural allies of U.S. or, to come closer to home, Finnish supermarkets? Is there really a natural alliance between the ruble, the Japanese yen, the German mark, or such a universally recognized asset as the coveted U.S. dollar?

This week Boris Yeltsin is making his debut in the West in a new capacity—not as chief critic but as chief activist, answerable for the state of affairs over one-sixth of the world's surface, where the dust of self-destruction has not yet settled and the features of the new creation are still not visible. The West prefers the Russian president's market reforms to Mikhail Gorbachev's indecision and lack of resolve. The West is concerned for the fate of the reformers who are walking on a knife-edge, liberating prices without the necessary reserves, and adding their own, extremely poor quality of state management to the bureaucratic quagmire of the past. People in the West know exactly what they would like, but they are uncertain of what will actually emerge from such a Russia. Do we really know? Are we really sure?

Even newcomers to the post of president are wont to some self-satisfaction and euphoria. However, do not bank on magical results. The positions of Yeltsin's interlocutors are quite clear, and the international coordination conference which took place in Washington confirmed them. Yeltsin's Russia is recognized and accepted, just like Kravchuk's Ukraine and Nazarbayev's Kazakhstan—better still now that the post-communist nature of the new states is expressed more distinctly. They sympathize, they are ready to give greater help "on the threshold of a new world," as Bush said, in completing the "leap from communism to democracy, from a command economy to a free market, and from authoritarianism to freedom."

The West will not abandon us to the whims of fate because it would be suicidal to leave approximately 30,000 nuclear warheads to the whims of fate. But this fate is primarily ours. It is we who, for the second time in a century, are diving into a new font, and nobody will make our new life for us. Survival, and the acquisition of a new image and new strength—without which a country like Russia can have neither self-respect (which means peace of mind) nor the respect of the world—are the immediate and historic tasks.

Russia's current strength still derives from something it does not really need, although all the misfortune of our life has been the price we paid for it. 'It' is the military, the armed forces. Russia's gaping weakness lies in the area where other states have their greatest strength—a consumer-driven economy, working for a high standard of living for the people. How can we swap the surplus of unnecessary strength for the strength we need, and rid ourselves of this permanent weakness?

The most important point at the initial stage of the reform now under way is to get through it without an explosion. Russia will give up its deterrence forces merely to secure help in overcoming its weakness—this will obviously be the gist of B. Yeltsin's message at every stage of his upcoming tour of the West. The proposed deal is likely to take this form: The exchange of a safely controlled and rapidly shrinking (much faster than existing obligations required) nuclear arsenal and other surplus armaments for all-round assistance in switching the Russian economy to market tracks.

In broader terms, there is the question of Russia's image, without which it cannot live in harmony with itself or the world. Immeasurable might, draped in the robes of Marxist-Leninist preaching, gave the Soviet Union its somewhat gloomy image. Whether we like it or not, this was its image, not just a mask forced upon Russia by a cruel experiment. Now Russia is going through the critical phase of losing its Soviet image. A new image will be acquired once the period of weakness has passed, a civilized concept of strength worthy of respect appears, and the economy starts functioning in a new fashion. After all, amidst poverty and destruction it is impossible to occupy a worthy place alongside other countries and to pursue a worthy foreign policy, which in peacetime consists primarily of projecting economic strength and relies on a firm economic foundation (take as example relations between the United States, the EC, and Japan). Then, and only then, can we by rights and on equal terms consider others to be our natural allies, respecting the Germans, the Japanese, and the Americans, and differing from them, as indeed they differ from each other, by our unique national traits. Rightly proud of the fact that we are ethnic Russians, citizens of Russia.

The Russian president is beginning his first journey to the Western capitals—and in keeping with history, showing the civilized world the alarming, promising, and still undefined traits of his country.

Previews Security Council Session

PM3001172092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 5

[Aleksandr Shalnev article: "Doubts and Hopes on the Eve of the New York Meeting"]

[Text] "Summit Meeting or Nonevent?"—a couple of weeks ago THE NEW YORK TIMES used that headline for an editorial article expressing doubt about the usefulness and expediency of a special UN Security Council session at the level of heads of state and government.

It must be admitted that even today, the day before the meeting takes place in the skyscraper on New York's East River, the doubts have by no means disappeared, though they have lessened somewhat. Nearly all the time allowed for the special session will be taken up by the 15 presidents, premiers, or foreign ministers of the countries belonging to the Security Council to deliver speeches whose content can, in principle, be predicted beforehand.

The meeting will culminate in the adoption of a declaration the text of which is now being agreed on behind the scenes and which will be ready by the time the heads of state arrive. The text, incidentally, is undergoing continuous correction.

Here is an illustration: One of the first drafts of the declaration spoke of the importance of the International Court in The Hague as a "key instrument" in the process of settling international disputes by peaceful means. The draft that was discussed on Wednesday [29 January] no longer mentions this. Why not? Because Libya would like the International Court at The Hague to examine the charges made against it in connection with the destruction of the Pan Am passenger plane over Lockerbie, Scotland, and the death of nearly 300 passengers and crew members; while the United States would like to do without The Hague and appoint as arbitrator the Security Council, which is empowered to adopt harsh economic sanctions and is free to operate far more promptly and vigorously than judicial bodies are.

Another illustration: The early drafts spoke of the importance of the Baghdad regime's complying with the rulings against it as initiator of the war in the Persian Gulf. The latest draft does not include this demand. Some of the "Third World" countries insisted on this.

I am sure that formulas will ultimately be found that will satisfy all 15 Security Council members, but I do not think that the adoption of a declaration prepared beforehand should mark the full extent of the usefulness of such an imposing and costly meeting as the one that is to take place in New York on Friday [31 January].

So what can realistically be expected apart from the declaration, one of whose main sections, incidentally—the disarmament section—will have been to some extent emasculated by the significant statements made this week by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin?

Psychological factors are indisputably of substantial significance. The participation of Yeltsin, who will have in front of him in the Security Council hall a card saying "Russian Federation," will visibly confirm Russia's membership of this most important UN body and demonstrate its status as successor in law to the former Soviet Union.

China's psychological victory will prove significant. This will be the first appearance in front of the international community by a Beijing leader of such a high level as Li Peng, premier of the State Council, since the time of the events in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989. "His presence at the Security Council session," THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote, "will graphically demonstrate that China is no longer being shunned."

All this is fine, but is it really enough, for such a costly event? Nor can much be expected from the bilateral meetings which are to be held in the breaks between sessions. What, for instance, can be decided at Boris Yeltsin's meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand, when, judging by the schedule, it is going to last precisely...10 minutes? Or at the 20-minute talks with the new UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali?

I have no doubt that the visit by our large delegation to UN Headquarters is, to call things by their proper names, only the context for a visit to the United States in which the Bush administration and American business circles have no less interest than the Kremlin, admittedly for different reasons. The Kremlin needs America's economic and political support; the White House and Wall Street (one of the highlights of Yeltsin's visit to New York will be a dinner, lasting nearly three hours, with top representatives of the business world, to be held at the New York Federal Reserve building on Wall Street) need a clear understanding of whom and what they are being asked to support.

To imagine that America already has that understanding is a delusion. As far as I can tell from my conversations in recent days, people in Washington are not at all sure that the present Russian power is stable and durable. The Kremlin's unexpected decision to leave Burbulis behind in Moscow, when he was to have been number two in the Russian delegation, has only given rise to speculation as to whether Yeltsin himself regards his own position as none too stable.

The answers to these and other similar questions, which will be asked point-blank and also through diplomatic hints, are what the Americans will be looking for in their contacts with Yeltsin and his delegation, in particular at Camp David, where the home comforts that Bush so skillfully creates encourage frankness, as many foreign leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev included, have seen.

Frankness will also be expected at the United Nations, where the Russian delegation will doubtless be asked what Moscow sees as the way out of the present profound financial crisis affecting the international community and when Russia will be ready to extinguish the growing debts of many millions which it inherited from the Soviet Union.

'Multifaceted' Trip, U.S. Relations Viewed

MK3001094192 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 2 Feb 92 p 5

[Candidate of Historical Sciences Andrey Shumikhin article: "What Yeltsin Will Have To Say in the United States"]

[Text] Yeltsin has visited the United States on several occasions, but this is the first time that he is going there as head of an independent Russia. This trip is multifaceted and multipurpose.

Naturally, Russian-U.S. relations rank first. In a certain respect this part of the visit has already begun. Yeltsin's statement about removing U.S. cities from the sights of Russia's strategic missiles and U.S. countermeasures to dismantle the "deterrent forces" aimed against the East indicate that the discussion between the two countries' leaders will focus on disarmament questions. So, Russia is succeeding the Union as a great nuclear power and may continue the dialogue based on principles of mutual understanding that took years to formulate between the USSR and the United States. However, totally new elements are also appearing.

The question of who will ultimately decide the foreign, military, economic, and social policy of both the new Commonwealth and the component parts of the former Soviet empire, and how, is very important for the Americans and for ourselves.

The United States is undoubtedly extremely interested in finding out what the correlation of forces is between the members of the Commonwealth and what their future plans are. Yeltsin's visit will allow the Americans to clarify their ideas on this as well as on the nature of Russia's relations with the other CIS countries and the reasons for their possible instability and even conflicts.

By and large the United States is displaying an amicable attitude toward those republics that intend to strengthen their internal democracy and switch to market relations. It may also agree to offer them practical aid—admittedly in limited amounts. The Americans are also ready to cooperate in those areas where they may derive direct benefit—for instance, in the destruction of the Soviet nuclear potential and the conversion of the military-industrial complex.

The second most important purpose of the president's U.S. visit is to take part in a special summit-level session of the UN Security Council and set out the fundamentals of Russian policy. In this connection the Russian leader must take into consideration the fact that it will not only be Western diplomats listening to him. Many representatives of developing countries would like to hear him utter words that could be interpreted as Russia's displaying sympathy for Third World interests, which by no means fully coincide with Western interests. Naturally, tact is needed here to ensure that the United States and other Western contries do not get the feeling that Russia is setting snares behind their backs.

Public dissociation from regimes like those in Libya and Iraq could serve as a guarantee that this is not the case, since both those regimes have of late pitted themselves against the interests of the world community.

It is obvious that people will be trying to find out from Boris Yeltsin Russia's intentions regarding the export of weapons, particularly to countries known for their foreign-policy ambitions.

It could be in our national interests to start to formulate some formal agreements involving Russia and, perhaps, even on its initiative, on the whole range of issues—sale, transfer, proliferation of military technologies and any weapons. Potential and real threats to the security of Russia, against which its own weapons could be directed under certain conditions, would be limited as a result. What is more, this would enable the Russian leadership to regulate Soviet arms shipments abroad, which are gradually getting out of control.

A great deal here will depend on the explanation of Russia's military policy that is expected forthwith. Everyone is interested, at least, in where the missiles formerly "locked on" to U.S. targets will be redirected, if of course they are not destroyed altogether. What happens to the tactical, nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons that were stockpiled in plenty during the "cold war" is equally important.

Another sphere in which Russia could try to succeed the USSR in the United Nations is in resolving regional conflicts. There are numerous links today between these conflicts and the internal disputes in the former Union's geopolitical space. If, say, the Arab-Israeli conflict remains unresolved, we can quite well predict increased friction among CIS members on this and similar international problems.

So, there are many questions. Are the answers solely of interest to the Americans? No, they are also of interest to us.

Arab-Israeli Talks Conclude

Levi on Outcome, Relations With Russia

PM3001174692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi by Andrey Ostalskiy in Moscow on 29 January: "Talks Were Successful, and Russia Can Take Pride in That, Israeli Foreign Minister Believes"]

[Text] On 17 October last year in Jerusalem Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi was the only official who gave a direct answer to the question: "Will diplomatic relations be established tomorrow between the USSR and your country?" While all the others were hesitating,

he confidently replied: "Yes!" And he was right. On 29 January, the day the Moscow talks on the Near East (successful, in the opinion of some, and a failure, in the view of others) ended, he promised to be equally frank.

[Ostalskiy] Mr. Minister, how do you view the results of the Moscow talks? Some sections of the media described them as a "one-sided victory for Israel"—by sitting down for the first time at the same negotiating table as representatives of the Arab countries of North Africa and the Persian Gulf, it obtained, as it were, further legitimacy in the region. Do you share that opinion?

[Levi] Recognition of the right to exist is not a victory for Israel, but a victory for justice. For many years the Arab countries refused to talk with us about peace. In fact, in the strange world that existed only yesterday, Israel's very appeal for peace was seen as a provocation or threat. I am very glad that the world has changed thus and that this change was obvious in Moscow—it reflects the changes that are taking place in your country and it accords with your people's spiritual values.

The Moscow conference was successful—in accordance with our expectations. The efforts to convene it were worthwhile, and Russia can be proud of that. The actual number of participants, the very atmosphere at the forum are a clear indication of success. Israel presented at the Moscow conference a clear message of peace and cooperation and urged that everything be done to avoid wars. As a result of the talks we have managed to set up working groups on particular topics and they will start working soon. So you might say that these days in Moscow have been very productive.

[Ostalskiy] But the other side does not share such positive assessments. They do not see any sign of success. Doesn't the unexpected absence of the Palestinian delegation from the Moscow talks make it difficult to speak of success?

[Levi] The Palestinians have one serious problem—they are constantly trying to change the rules of the game. It happened in Washington and in Moscow. They hope that they will be able to sow panic all over the world and the world will go along with them. But that is frivolous. Neither the Americans nor the Russians have consented to change the accords reached earlier. It is very regrettable that whenever one manages to make progress toward a decision, the Palestinians create a problem. There is nothing else we can do but hope that they will come to their senses and realize that the rules apply to everyone and must be observed by everyone equally. In any case, Israel is committed to the peace process and wants to advance it.

[Ostalskiy] I heard that the talks in the working groups were held in a businesslike atmosphere, without any rhetoric. However, there were polemics at the plenary session between you and the Jordanian foreign minister, who accused you of being eager, in your speech, to have the border between Israel and Jordan running along the River Jordan...

[Levi] That statement was extremely surprising as far as I was concerned. There was nothing new there! I myself live in the valley of the River Jordan and the river has been a natural border since ancient times. It is a fact that you cannot move the river from where it is! If the Jordanian minister was looking for an argument...

One way or another we have learned over the years not to pay attention to all the various statements and to fearlessly march toward peace with hope and purpose. Everything necessary must be done to avoid war and I am sure that there is every chance of that.

[Ostalskiy] Mr. Minister, during your stay in Moscow you met with [Russian] Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. How do you view the state of and prospects for our bilateral relations?

[Levi] It was a very good conversation. I received an invitation to pay an official state visit to Russia in the very near future, which will be entirey devoted to questions of bilateral relations. There are many spheres in which we can deepen our cooperation. We will do our "homework" and prepare prosposals in various spheres. We will do all we can to make up for lost time.

[Ostalskiy] The final question is more of a personal one: Can you share with us your impressions, Mr. Minister, of what kind of ambassadors journalists make? You have guessed, of course, that I am referring to a man who only recently was my colleague on IZVESTIYA and is now Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the State of Israel. No doubt you get to meet with him often.

[Levi] Ah, Bovin! (he laughs). A very decent guy. I was there when he presented his credentials to our president. I met with Bovin before that too, I have met with him since, and I also met with him on the eve of my Moscow trip. On that last occasion he handed me a message from Andrey Kozyrev. I like his style—he does not beat about the bush, he talks without dropping hints, whether broad or subtle, but precisely and frankly. Perhaps that is the smartest way? Perhaps that is the diplomacy that is needed today—speak the truth, period? We have already grown to like him. He is already acquainted with our ruling circles and is learning Hebrew. There is something particular about him—something characteristic of people who have ideals and can remain optimistic. He is always smiling and if that is the face of today's IZVESTIYA, then it is a nice face.

Gorbachev Meets With Mideast Ministers

MK3101104192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jan 92 pp 1,4

[Interview with M.S. Gorbachev by Leonid Velekhov at the Gorbachev Foundation in Moscow, 29 January: "Gorbachev May Visit Near East on Peacemaking Mission. He Says So During an Interview With NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's Correspondent"—first two paragraphs are introducion]

[Excerpts] Gorbachev's prestige in the Near East, as throughout the world, moreover, is still very high. The day before yesterday [29 January] we were able to see this for ourselves once again. The Israeli, Saudi, and Jordanian foreign ministers, who were taking part in a two-day meeting in Moscow on preparations for Near East talks, were invited and came to a reception held by Gorbachev.

After Gorbachev had concluded his meetings with the top men of Near East diplomacy he received NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent.

[Velekhov] It is notable that you are still taking part in the Near East settlement process, in which you played such an important and active role until the conference held in Madrid not so long ago. Could you please give us your impressions of today's meetings and your ideas on how the negotiating process may develop.

[Gorbachev] First, to be honest, it was very nice for me that many ministers beat such an insistent path to my door and asked to meet me. In addition to the three meetings today I have a meeting scheduled with the Egyptian foreign minister.

Needless to say, the process is a very difficult one. The conflict is a chronic, painful one and many countries' interests are "tied up" in it. I am satisfied and pleased that they all in common—both the Israeli minister and the Jordanian and Saudi ministers—described the Moscow phase in positive terms. They were impressed by the atmosphere in which the conference was held and the extensive, albeit incomplete representation. All three ministers laid emphasis on the fact that it proved possible to form commissions in various areas, to do the everyday work. They all realize that this process will continue to be difficult and are prepared to act with consideration for mutual interests.

I said to them that they must not lose hope and be disappointed if they encounter obstacles on the way and must work persistently and painstakingly, advancing step by step. I said that there can be no winners in this process. It is necessary to seek a balance of interests here. That is why no one is even thinking of being able to bring anyone else to his knees. That is impossible. If it happens, then the process is doomed. I think that everyone realizes that. And another thing, I voiced the idea—in general terms, of course—that no new obstacles should be created. We have got enough with those that have formed over the decades. For God's sake, let them be swept away and cleared from the path and let those involved take the path to cooperation. We must act on the premise that the peoples have lived and will carry on living there and that a formula for living together must be sought. I did not name anyone personally because, to be honest, everyone is creating certain difficulties in their own way.

What else did I think it necessary to point out? First, the fact that the Russian Federation and other countries in the Commonwealth with very close links with the Arab world will obviously play a very important role in this process. The direct contacts now being established between Near East countries and all the Commonwealth states are very promising. Second, I stressed during my conversations with all my interlocutors without exception the constructive and positive role played by the United States in the negotiations today. This role differs considerably from that played by the States previously. That is also a very important factor enabling us to hope for the success of future talks.

[Velekhov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I have just heard in the corridor from Vladlen Loginov, the head of your press center, that the conversation with the Israeli foreign minister was particularly interesting. Are you too inclined to single out that meeting from all the others?

[Gorbachev] I think that was bound to happen because this was, after all, our first meeting. We had things to discuss—in particular, the events of the last few years and the accumulated capital of the new thinking. I heard from the leadership of the Israeli Foreign Ministry—it was represented extremely fully—a very high opinion of what has been achieved. It is thanks to the new thinking in politics that we have been able to make such progress in settling and eliminating extremely dangerous seats of confrontation.

Last, I think it very important and natural that we have resumed diplomatic relations with Israel. There will be very good relations between our states, there is every opportunity for them, and I think that people here and in Israel are fully aware of the need for this.

[Velekhov] In this connection did the subject of Soviet—we use this geographical concept from force of habit—Jews emigrating, one of the key issues in relations between our countries, come up during your meeting with David Levi?

[Gorbachev] In principle the Israeli delegation noted the tremendous progress that has occurred on our part in resolving this problem. But we did not have a separate discussion of this matter. If we had, I would have probably told my interlocutors that there is hardly any point at a time when this multiphase international conference has just begun in creating any more artificial obstacles to resolving the problems in the form of these settlements...and thus putting us in a false position with our new emigration policy and creating grounds for suspicion of this policy in the Arab world. Consideration and responsibility are needed here. Methods designed for effect and involving pressure are doomed. Ultimately I hope that this will be understood and that common sense will prevail. There you have it.

[Velekhov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, how do you see your personal involvement in the future in resolving Near East problems and your foundation's involvement in this?

[Gorbachev] The foundation will be open to precisely these kinds of problems; it was set up to take part in

resolving them and will cooperate in this with other political and scientific centers in various countries. The foundation's task is to help the trends toward rapprochement and toward peoples' accommodating one another to gain momentum in the world.

As for myself personally, I once again received confirmation today from the king of Saudi Arabia and the king of Jordan of invitations to visit their countries. I think that I will take them up on these invitations. I have not been to the Near East and perhaps it is worth going. In this period I have established partnership and confiding relations with many leaders in the Near East and this will make it possible, I think, to have a frank discussion of the most acute and painful problems and promote the quest for a solution. But that is for later. Now I have to be here.

[Velekhov] Without doubt. If you will allow me, I have another question that is not directly linked with the Near East but is, on the other hand so topical and general that it relates to any foreign-policy problem. Especially since you will be asked this question several times more, although today will probably be the first time that you answer it. I am referring to your attitude to the new disarmament ideas put forward by Yeltsin and Bush.

[Gorbachev] You know that I still have to analyze all this. Especially since I still do not have detailed information. (The conversation took place an hour before Boris Yeltsin made his concrete disarmament proposals on television—L.V.) Therefore I can only welcome this, but, as for concrete analysis and assessment, I must first obtain the materials I have requested...because this is always a serious and concrete business. You cannot wing it here. Although some people are now trying to accuse me of ill-conceived steps in disarmament, they are people who do not know, so to speak, what study at how many levels preceded the adoption of various decisions.

I would say even when the United States or our country—at any rate this was always the case before—takes unilateral steps, bear in mind that they always intend that there be answering movement. That is, they are ultimately nonetheless bilateral or even multilateral steps to reduce confrontation and cut nuclear arms. Otherwise even if one of the sides, regardless of what its partner does, advances along this path, it is at some stage still forced to stop. People will start to criticize it as we have seen with regard to our humble efforts... But there will be no movement without initiative, without these unilateral breakthroughs. And if anyone says today that we have lost something irrevocably here and breached our security, I would say that this is just idle speculation. What is more, political speculation. I no longer consider it necessary to respond to that....

[Velekhov] Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for giving NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 17 minutes of your tight working day. For my part, I would like to say that I was very pleased to see the Near East leaders' pilgrimage to see you today, confirming your prestige in the world and the hopes that the world pins on you as a politician capable of helping to resolve highly complex, intricate problems through your personal involvement.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. I was glad to meet a representative of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA again—a newspaper that I respect and value highly for its responsibility, seriousness, and soundness.

Security Working Group To Meet in Apr, May

OW3001172192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; by diplomatic correspondents M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The working group for arms control and security that was formed at the organizational Middle East session in Moscow will meet again in Washington, D.C., late in April or early in May.

According to the Russian Foreign Ministry official Grigory Berdennikov, who chaired the Moscow session, the group will concentrate on confidence-building measures, and then proceed to more complicated matters—from setting up a zone that would be free of weapons of mass destruction to limiting arms trade.

The main thing, Mr. Berdennikov said, would be to put an end to stockpiling weaponry in the Middle East and to rule out the possibility of newer conflicts there. The Russian diplomat welcomed the fact that an arms control working group had been set up in spite of the numerous difficulties, and that it was beginning to actually operate. Although it had emerged within the framework of the peace conference on the Middle East, the group could meet independently and according to its own timetable, Berdennikov said.

PRC's Yang Fuchang Interviewed on Talks

OW3001141392 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 2100 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Interview with Yang Fuchang, vice minister of foreign affairs and head of the PRC delegation to the Middle East peace talks in Moscow, by Radio Moscow reporter Soveyev; place and date not given—from the "Hello China" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: As we all know, a PRC delegation has participated in the international conference on Middle East issues in Moscow. Yang Fuchang, leader of the PRC delegation and the PRC's vice minister of foreign affairs, spoke to our station reporter Soveyev. Below, please listen to the content of their talks:

[Soveyev] This is the first time China has participated in an international conference on Middle East issues. What is your view about the role played by China in the above meeting?

[Yang Fuchang] This is the first time China has sent a delegation to participate in a conference on Middle East issues—the third round of these conference and a multilateral one. I would like to first explain China's basic stand on Middle East issues before I answer your questions.

China's basic stand on Middle East issues is as follows: First, it is necessary to solve the issue of the occupied territories in order to solve Middle East issues. That is, Israel should withdraw from those lands it occupies [words indistinct] in order to solve the issue of the occupied territories. Second, and the (?same) basic issue, is that the rights of the Palestinian people should be restored. Third, concerning the basic issue of Israel having no guarantee of its security, we are of the opinion that in order to find a solution to Middle East issues we should respect and guarantee the sovereignty and security of all Middle East countries, including Israel. These are the basic positions constantly held by China concerning Middle East Issues. China is of the opinion that if we solve these three problems we will find a just, rational, comprehensive solution to Middle East issues.

China—or the Chinese Government—sent me here to attend this conference. Our aim is to make clear our support for the peace process and our support for the convening of the Middle East peace conference. We are willing to use China's ability to give impetus to the peace process and affect the process in a positive way.

[Soveyev] The issue of finding a solution for the Middle East is a very difficult one. A lot of people think that a lot of time is needed to discover a successful solution. What is your opinion about that? Also, what is your view about the (?possibility) of (?finding a solution) for the Middle East?

[Yang Fuchang] I agree with what you said just now, when you posed your question, that the issue is a very difficult one, and that a lengthy period of time is required to find a solution. I delivered a speech during the conference. In my speech I used a Chinese idiom: it takes more than one cold day for the river to freeze three feet deep. This problem has accumulated over a lengthy period of time. Of course, it is not possible for us to expect a solution to such a problem in a short time. That is why I agree with what you said, that we need a certain amount of time and a certain degree of effort by all parties. However, we also think we have a gleam of hope since the peace process has already been started, (?or to put it in a common expression), the wheel has already started to turn. Therefore, in answering your request that I predict the outcome, I am of the opinion that a certain degree of achievement is possible so long as all parties assume a relatively flexible and practical attitude, and so long as mutual understanding, compromise, and concessions are made during the talks by both parties.

International Affairs

PRAVDA Sums Up State of Union Speech

PM3001162792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 4

[Correspondent Vladislav Drobkov report: "George Bush: America Has Won the Cold War. U.S. President Delivers State of the Union Message"]

[Text] Washington, 29 Jan—When he appeared in the U.S. Congress last night, President George Bush looked sure of himself, of his party, and of the support of Americans. At one moment he would joke, at another he would reach the heights of passion, or yet again he would lecture his listeners patriotically. Millions of Americans were listening to the head of the Republican administration. The President was delivering his traditional State of the Union message.

George Bush began with what he knew in advance was a winning theme for Americans, the changes in the world which, in his words, were of "biblical proportions" and had made the United States the only superpower. "This year communism died...America won the "cold war," the President declared to the audience's wild applause.

Now, for the first time in 30 years, our strategic bombers are not in a state of round-the-clock combat alert, and there is no need for schoolchildren to hide at the sound of the school bell signalling an air raid, as my children did, he said.

George Bush also recalled the victory of U.S. arms in the war against Iraq, whose anniversary is being celebrated with pomp in the United States at the moment, as well as the beginning of the Arab-Israeli dialogue, and the return home of the last U.S. hostage. "The world which was earlier divided into two camps," he emphasized, "has gained a single power standing above the others—the United States of America."

Guided by all these changes on the world stage, the United States can now move toward making a significant reduction in its defense efforts. "Today," George Bush declared, "I can report dramatic changes in our strategic nuclear forces to you."

He reported the following:

—when production of the 20 B-2 aircraft already on order is completed, the bombers' manufacture will be halted;
—the program to develop small ICBM's will be canceled;
—production of new warheads for sea-launched ballistic missiles will stop;
—manufacture of the new Peacekeeper nuclear missiles has been stopped;
—procurement of any improved cruise missiles will cease.

"I will meet Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation at the end of this week at Camp David," the U.S. President

went on. "I will inform President Yeltsin that if the Commonwealth, the former Soviet Union, destroys all land-based ballistic missiles with multiple warheads, I will do the following: We will destroy all Peacekeeper missiles, reduce to one the number of warheads on Minuteman missiles, reduce by one-third the number of warheads on our sea-launched missiles, and convert a sizeable proportion of our strategic bombers for mainly nonnuclear use."

At the same time the President called for vigilance because the world still remains a dangerous place, and while yesterday's challenges are behind us, new ones are coming into being. Having reported on the decision to reduce U.S. military spending in the next five years by $50 billion, he firmly declared that he would not proceed to make bigger reductions. Bush mentioned at the same time his intention to try and obtain Congressional support to finance the program to protect the United States against a limited nuclear missile attack. "We should possess this defense because too many people in too many countries have access to nuclear weapons, and I call upon you to approve SDI," he stated.

Passing on to the United States' domestic problems, the President set out in a fairly detailed manner his plan to extricate it from the crisis and to make the economy here prosperous and competitive once more. In order to achieve economic recovery and stimulate business activity, George Bush announced a 90-day moratorium on various state restrictions which are hampering entrepreneurs' initiative. He proposed lowering taxes on capital gains, implementing as quickly as possible the financing of long-term federal programs which have already been approved while at the same time rejecting those of them which can be done without, and introducing tax concessions for families with children, as well as for would-be first-time home buyers. The President declared his support for the draft law to increase the period for paying unemployment benefit.

In the longer term Bush proposes to revitalize the struggle to strengthen the United States' positions as the planet's economic leader. He is putting forward a plan to modernize and improve the educational system in the United States, and pledges to support the development of the country's scientific and research potential. His plans also include facilitating house building, implementing a reform of medical insurance, and reducing the budget deficit.

In general the congressmen received the President's speech fairly warmly. However, in the opinion of many, the proposals by the head of the Republican administration are clearly influenced by the forthcoming election and will provoke a confrontation in Congress. But even the President himself did not conceal the fact that his initiatives were undertaken in the "political season." The President's speech has in essence become his program in the struggle to be reelected.

Military Considers Bush Message

PM3001172592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent A. Fedyashin: "George Bush: The United States Intends To Speed up the Change in Structure of Its Strategic Forces"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. President George Bush delivered the traditional State of the Union message to Congress on 28 January. In it the American President touched on a number of very important aspects of U.S. military policy and said, in particular, the following:

"I have already informed President Yeltsin that if the Commonwealth, the former Soviet Union, eliminates all ground-launched ballistic missiles with multiple warheads, I will do the following:

"We will scrap all Peacekeeper missiles. We will reduce the number of warheads on Minuteman missiles to one per missile and will reduce the number of warheads on our sea-launched missiles by roughly one-third. We will also convert a considerable proportion of our strategic bombers to basically conventional (nonnuclear—TASS correspondent's note) planes."

The U.S. President reported that the administration intends to "speed up" unilaterally the implementation of radical changes in the structure of the U.S. strategic forces and the reduction of America's military expenditure, but is far from intending to recklessly follow this path.

The unilateral measures announced by the President include the following:

—the administration renounces the full-scale implementation of the new B-2 strategic bomber's construction program. Instead of the 75 planes planned, only 20 will be manufactured;

—the United States cancels the program to create a new small ICBM. Instead of this the guidance system for existing Minuteman missiles will be modernized;

—the Department of Energy is ceasing production of the new W-88 warheads for American Trident strategic submarines;

—the Pentagon will stop purchasing new modern cruise missiles after 1992. It is planned to purchase 640 of them instead of the previously intended 1,000 by the end of 1992.

The President also reported that his administration intends in the coming five years to "save an extra $50 billion on defense expenditure," adding that, consequently, total military expenditure savings since he came into office will amount to 30 percent by Fiscal Year 1997. However, the cuts in military programs and defense budgets announced by Bush lag way behind the demands of the Democrats and even a number of Republicans in Congress, who consider that Washington can

and should cut defense expenditure in the next five-seven years by $75 billion, $100 billion, or even $210 billion.

The U.S. President stated that now, with the collapse of communism and America's "victory" in the "cold war", the United States can allow itself to look after its own affairs, to stop "making sacrifices," and to start tackling in earnest its domestic economic and social problems.

Priority of Relations With Ukraine Viewed

LD3101110892 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry regards "the preservation and development of Russia's all-round ties with the Ukraine as one of priority direction of the Russian foreign policy," says a statement issued by the Foreign Ministry on Thursday [30 January].

The statement points out a "non-confrontational constructive nature" of the January 23, 1992, decree of the Russian parliament "On the Decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of February 19, 1954, and the Decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet of April 21, 1954, To Withdraw the Crimean Region From the Russian Federation."

One of the clauses of the Russian parliament's decree is that "the Russian parliament proposes to the Ukrainian parliament to consider whether the 1954 decisions to withdraw the Crimean region from the Russian Federation and transfer it to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were within the constitution. The Russian Foreign Ministry believes that the decree reflected Russian parliamentarians inclination for a dialogue on all aspects of Russo- Ukrainian relations. It is proposed to study the matter thoroughly, first of all from juridical viewpoint.

"The lack of an interparliamentary dialogue on the entire range of bilateral relations is largely the reason why the problems of the Black Sea Fleet and the Crimea became so sensitive," the statement of the Russian Foreign Ministry says.

'Alarm' Expressed Over Nagorno-Karabakh

LD3001174792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] We have just received from ITAR-TASS a statement by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. It says that the Russian Federation is following recent events with alarm. These events testify to the nonfulfillment of obligations stemming from provisions of the UN Charter, the Helsinki final act, the Paris Charter, and other CSCE documents dealing with democracy, legality, guarantees of human rights and freedoms, including the rights of national and religious minorities, and the tackling of all regional conflicts through conciliation, involving international arbitration if necessary.

The continuation of the conflict, let alone its escalation in the immediate vicinity of Russia's southern borders, carries a threat to peace and security not only in the Transcaucasus region, but also outside it. All this is arousing the serious concern of the world community. One need only mention the statement on the events in Nagorno-Karabakh by the 12 EC states.

The Russian Federation is willing to support any international initiative designed to ensure that all the sides involved in the conflict renounce the use of force as a means of resolving disputes and commence a constructive dialogue to sort out all existing problems through peaceful negotiations as quickly as possible. Russia, says the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has always been committed to this route. This was the objective of the mediation by Presidents Yeltsin and Nazarbayev.

On 30 December last year, the leaders of all the states of the Commonwealth appealed to Azerbaijan and Armenia to resume the suspended interstate negotiating process. Today we are prepared to take part in the implementation of peace initiatives, including efforts by third parties, following the same path as the process initiated in Zheleznovodsk. We again appeal to all sides for restraint.

Economic Restrictions With Belarus Lifted

PM2901163592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 92 p 2

["Own Information" report: "Without Customs and Using the Ruble"]

[Text] Russia and Belarus have signed an agreement to lift restrictions on economic activities. In accordance with the agreement, the Russian Federation's trade and economic relations with the Republic of Belarus will be implemented within the framework of a single economic area on the basis of mutual benefit using a single monetary unit (the ruble) as the means of financial settlements.

The republics' governments will ensure a system of unimpeded transfer of all types of monetary funds, and the central banks will systematically inform each other of the volumes of credit and money emissions and of the state of monetary circulation.

Enterprises and organizations of all types of organizational and legal structure, registered on the two states' territories, have the right to form with one another daughter enterprises, subsidiaries, departments, local offices, and other separate subdivisions without hindrance and in compliance with the relevant legislation.

With a view to the priority implementation of bilateral contracts for deliveries of goods, a coordinated export and import policy will be pursued in respect of goods and services of substantial importance for the commodity turnover.

The governments have pledged not to introduce additional charges for the carriage of cargoes across their territories by any means of transportation.

Talks With Poland on 1992 Deal Reviewed

PM3001150192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Sergey Mushkaterov report: "Poland Will Receive Russian Gas But Not In the Quantity It Would Like. No One Has Officially Broken the Agreement"]

[Text] Increasingly frequent reports have recently been coming in from Poland to the effect that the country's industry, and primarily the major metallurgical plants and chemical enterprises, are literally "choking" because of a shortage of natural gas. The reason is that supplies from the former Soviet Union in January reached only 55 percent of the usual volume.

All the indications are that intensive talks between Warsaw and Moscow over the telephone did not bring about the desired result, and Adam Glapinski, Polish minister of foreign economic cooperation, arrived in the Russian capital on 27 January.

On the same day, following talks with P. Aven, chairman of the Russian Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, he held a news conference and told journalists about the results of the first day of talks in Moscow. What he said indicated that the sides managed to reach an agreement according to which Poland will be supplied with an annual volume of 6.6 billion cubic meters—93 percent of its gas needs. Supplies will be increased in a week's time. These volumes of supplies satisfied the Polish delegation albeit not entirely, and brought a certain relief. Furthermore, the Polish minister managed to convince his Russian counterpart of the need to continue holding talks on the annual supply of 7.1 billion cubic meters of gas, on which Poland is insisting on the basis of its needs.

Of course it is pleasing that both ministers displayed an ability to quickly find a common language in their dealings with one another, but at the same time you feel regret for the fate of the Russian-Polish trade protocol for 1992, which was signed quite recently—24 December. The point is that this protocol notably established the volumes of gas supplies to Poland at 8.1 billion cubic meters. So does this mean that Russia is not honoring its commitments?

"No," A. Glapinski asserted. "In this case it is hard to say that one of the sides is not fulfilling the protocol dated 24 December." And he explained: After all, the protocol had not come into force anyway. It was not itemized, and notably an interbank agreement was not signed. This was due mainly to the fact that a new system for regulating foreign economic activity started operating in Russia in 1992. This also concerns payments. Since a significant proportion of currency now remains in the accounts of exporting enterprises, the Russian Government does not have full control of the resources generated by gas deliveries in this case, and this means that it cannot promise that this foreign currency revenue will be used to acquire goods in Poland. But as the interbank agreement was not signed and the protocol on barter dated 24 December did not come into force either, this means that the supplies of gas to Poland stipuiated in it were not possible either.

In a word, officially no one has broken anything, but as A. Glapinski let slip, a diplomatic problem emerges connected with the fact that Russia appears to want to unilaterally amend the agreement dated 24 December. At the same time, he did not conceal the fact that the protocol suits Poland, and Poland would like it to come into force.

You can understand the Polish minister. Poland has traditionally seriously depended on supplies of petroleum and gas from the former Soviet Union and, until the beginning of last year, it did not have any problems with energy sources at all. However, since 1 January 1991, the sides switched to mutual supplies of goods paid in freely convertible currency at world prices. Because neither we nor Poland had a sufficient quantity of currency, a decision that was essentially correct turned into a virtually complete breakdown in trade. In fact the protocol dated 24 December could have become a kind of breakthrough in our trade and economic relations. Furthermore, according to this document, in exchange for petroleum and gas, Russia should obtain not only coking coal and raw materials, but also the medicines and food products we need so much. At the news conference, the Polish minister stressed that Poland's deliveries of food to Russia are ahead of schedule. However, now that the protocol on barter for 1992 has essentially "been left hanging" it is not clear, at least to me, whether Russia will receive the full volume of goods and if it does, then what will it pay with? All the indications are that the possibility of an ensuing new trade deficit is also worrying Poland.

UN Resolution on Somalia Supported

LD3001200492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jan (TASS)—"Russia is in favor of immediate cessation of the hostilities in Somalia and the speediest attainment of reconciliation and concord in that country. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it will spare no effort to achieve these

aims." This is what the spokesman of the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry said in a statement circulated here.

The fulfillment of the resolution adopted by the UN Security Council on 23 January, which calls on all sides involved in the conflict in Somalia to immediately cease hostilities, calls for an embargo on the supplies of arms and ammunition to that country, and the Council's call on all states to refrain from actions which could delay the settlement of the conflict in Somalia "will create conditions for supplies of humanitarian aid to be provided immediately to that country's population which has suffered so much from the hostilities," the statement says.

"We believe that by reacting immediately and unanimously to the situation arising in Somalia, the Security Council has demonstrated once more the possibilities contained in the United Nations peace- making potential", says the statement by the spokesman of the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Decree on Security Ministry Issued

PM3001151592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jan 92 First Edition p 3

[Decree No. 42 of the Russian Federation President "On the Formation of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security," under the "Official Section" rubric, signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 24 January]

[Text] In order to ensure the Russian Federation's state security and the protection of the state's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the individual's rights and freedoms, I resolve:

1. To form a Russian Federation Ministry of Security [RFMS].

To set up the ministry on the basis of the abolished RSFSR Federal Security Agency and the Interrepublic Security Service, transferring to the ministry the table of organization [shatnaya chislennost] and personnel (servicemen, workers, and employees) of the said departments, the financial assets allocated for their maintenance, and also buildings, installations, the material and technical base, and other property.

To complete the reorganization before 1 July 1992.

2. To approve the Provisional Statute [polozheniye] on the RFMS (appended).

To permit the ministry to have eight deputy ministers, including one first deputy minister and deputy ministers who are chiefs of the directorates for the city of Moscow and Moscow Oblast and the city of St. Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast. To form a collegium of 17 people within the ministry.

To fix the table of organization of servicemen, workers, and employees in the system of the RFMS organs at 137,900, including 2,800 for the ministry's central apparatus (excluding personnel for running, guarding, and maintaining official buildings and premises).

To make personnel cuts during regularization of the structure and staff of the ministry's system.

To allow the ministry to keep at its disposal until 1 July 1992 staffers who have served their prescribed periods of service and those who are subject to discharge through staff reductions.

3. That in the budget for 1992 the Russian Federation Government should make provision for the allocation of the necessary financial and material and technical resources for the proper functioning of the RFMS system.

4. To retain for servicemen, workers, and employees in the ministry's system the privileges, the procedure and norms for paying monetary allowances and wages, and the material and pension provisions previously established for staffers of the state security organs.

5. During the reorganization to provide the proper social protection for servicemen, workers, and employees of the abolished RSFSR Federal Security Agency and Interrepublic Security Service.

To keep in service highly skilled leading and operational staffers and other categories of worker in the interests of ensuring state security on Russian Federation territory.

To pay servicemen, if during the reorganization they are appointed to posts carrying a lower salary, the salary received before such appointment for the entire period of work in these posts until they are entitled to receive a higher salary. On the discharge of the said servicemen to pay them a pension calculated from the salary paid.

6. That within six months the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, jointly with the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice, should submit proposals on making amendments and additions to the Russian Federation legislation on security and the security organs.

To establish that, prior to the adoption of the corresponding legislative and governmental normative acts, the Russian Federation Ministry of Security will be guided, in parallel with Russian Federation laws and other legal acts, by thosee legal acts of the former USSR which do not contradict Russian Federation legislation.

7. To declare the following RSFSR president's decrees no longer valid:

No. 135 of 30 September 1991 "On Measures To Ensure the RSFSR's State Security";

No. 233 of 26 November 1991 "On the Transformation of the KGB Into the RSFSR Federal Security Agency";

No. 234 of 26 November 1991 "On the Leaders of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency."

8. This decree comes into force the moment it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 24 January 1992

Secrecy Over Yeltsin's Health Scorned

PM3001155192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Vladimir Nadein: "Presidents' Health Should Not Be a Secret"]

[Text] Russian President B.N. Yeltsin's sudden disappearance for two days from the view of politicians, the media, and, perhaps, his own colleagues in the presidential apparatus and the government has not yet had a destructive effect on the image of the hero of victorious August, although it has raised a number of worrying questions.

And we are not even talking about the sudden cancelation of the meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister M. Watanabe and of the president's participation in the conference on a Near East settlement, which has opened in the Hall of Columns, half a kilometer from the Kremlin. Presidents are only human. For example, for all G. Bush's efforts to remain cheerful, his sudden fainting fit at the reception in Tokyo certainly affected the schedule for that very important visit.

So it was not the cancelation of the planned events, but the inexplicability. Or, rather, the failure to provide an explanation.

Our long-standing tradition, whereby a Soviet person commits a state crime by inquiring after the health of his leaders, has survived not only a Lenin who had lost the power of speech, Stalin with his withered arm, a senile Brezhnev, and also a very young, by political standards, President Gorbachev.

We still have no independent medical examination of top leaders. Traditionally, the one and only picture the population gets of their leader's health is his death certificate.

The consequences of this have always been serious. Mikhail Sergeyevich's mild diabetes, which was hinted at by some foreign newspapers, bore no comparison to Nikita Sergeyevich's catalog of geriatric ailments. But both the palace plot against Khrushchev and the party and KGB putsch against Gorbachev would immediately have lost all semblance of legality if the country had had a procedure for the official examination of leaders.

The law demands a medical certificate from every nurse in an ordinary kindergarten. Do we not have the right to know officially, rather than depending on rumors, the real truth about the mental and physical health of the person who always has with him the "nuclear attache case," whose one button governs the lives of all the children in the world?

Let us not be surprised, therefore, that all the world's media worth their salt gave prominence to B.N. Yeltsin's sudden disappearance and his subsequent equally sudden reappearance in Novorossiysk, on the "Moskva" antisubmarine warfare ship.

The agencies and newspapers recall not only the famous incidents during B.N. Yeltsin's first visit to the United States and the incident on the bridge, which are perfectly explicable in terms of the unscrupulous struggle the Kremlin, Staraya Ploshchad, and the Lubyanka were waging to destroy the chief rebel.

But it was after the August triumph that the victor, from whom the whole world and our country in particular were expecting rapid and decisive reforms, suddenly absented himself for two weeks, leaving a potentially very dangerous power vacuum in Moscow.

In September, he suddenly turned down a meeting with German Finance Minister T. Waigel, who had been authorized by his Western colleagues to hold important talks on major investments in the country's economy.

The postponement of the meeting with International Olympic Committee chairman J.A. Samaranch was equally inexplicable.

According to a number of foreign observers, the process of "becoming president" has been somewhat protracted in the case of this gifted and willful peasant's son from the Urals. And this is affecting the degree of confidence in the current Russian administration, its course, its promises, and its ability to put its ideas into practice. "The promotion of Yeltsin to the rank of world leader following the collapse of the Union... gave added urgency to the question of his suitability as leader of what remains of what was known as the 'other superpower'," REUTER's Moscow correspondent writes, carefully choosing his words.

Of course, many Russians might strongly object to these opinions, however carefully expressed. Foreign observers are aware of this, noting, as they do, that "this kind of behavior will not cause (Yeltsin) any damage at home, where his image as a rough-and-ready, hard-nosed peasant works very well. The jokes about the ebullient life style of this leader lit by the divine spark are reminiscent more of a nod and a wink than of disapproval."

The sudden nature of B.N. Yeltsin trip to Novorissiysk is indicated not only by the canceled events and not only by the ignorance of local civilians, but also by the contradictory explanations by presidential press secretary P. Voshchanov, Russian Foreign Ministry staffers, and other officials.

Howevever, it cannot be ruled out that that the events that caused this commotion in the world press were largely due to grave organizational chaos in the president's apparatus. The media have cited such a multitude of eloquent examples of lack of coordination and disagreements among the ruling team that even the incredible becomes reliable.

Moreover, the importance of the problems associated with the Black Sea Fleet, the presence of top military officials on board the "Moskva," and, most important, the Russian president's latest speech on television are evidence not only that he is in good shape on the eve of the important transatlantic trip, but also are a kind of repudiation of a number of wild guesses.

Our press traditionally has no means of officially confirming or denying widespread rumors about the health of top leaders. For all our respect for the words of press secretary P. Voshchanov to the effect that B.N. Yeltsin is "alive and well and feels great," we, whose lives rest on the "nuclear attache case," are entitled to insist on the immediate introduction into state practice of the tradition of regular medical examinations of top civilian and military leaders.

These examinations absolutely must be independent, highly skilled, comprehensive, and must (definitely) be made public.

Yeltsin Decree Establishes New Press House

LD3001185292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] By decree of President Yeltsin, a Russian Press House has been established. The decree says the idea is to further strengthen the freedom of the press and provide back-up for the work of the Russian news media. Its address will be 26 Pushkinskaya Street, Moscow.

Rutskoy Bemoans Russia's Possible Collapse

PM3101120192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

[Aleksandr Rutskoy article: "In Defense of Russia"—first paragraph is quotation attributed to G.P. Fedotov]

[Text] "In a year of the greatest national humiliations, let us contemplate an image of imperishable beauty and ancient glory: the face of Russia. Let others find talk of its glory amusing. Let the embittered and faithless berate Russia as a country with no future, no honor, and no self-awareness. We know, and we remember. There was a Great Russia. And there will be again."

Lately, I have been receiving a growing number of letters, telegrams, and appeals from individual citizens of Russia and labor collectives in response to my speeches to various audiences in November and December 1991. The letters vary—some express support, some totally reject my views, but all of them forced me once again to ponder deeply what is happening today in Russia and across the territory of the country which only very recently was referred to as the great Soviet Union. A great power.

I found myself with a few relatively free days (I am in hospital undergoing a health check following three years without a break or a real vacation), so I will try to generalize my recent observations, especially as my desk is piled high with over 130 requests for meetings and interviews. I am grateful to the newspapers which have published my statements, and I am grateful to PRAVDA for the attention devoted to me and for this opportunity to share my views on certain questions which seem to be the most vital, especially today.

Today, the country is not simply in a state of crisis—it is in a state of political and, most importantly, economic and social deadlock, caused both by the activity of governments from the "socialist past" and by the clumsy, often essentially experimental attempts to remedy the situation by the government of the "democratic present," so to speak.

The greatest complication at present resides in the fact that there has been a coincidence in the timing of the collapse of political and economic links not just on the scale of the former Union. This process also took place on the scale of Russia. At the same time, it is necessary to realize that over the last six years the country has constantly been in a kind of experimental state, and the consequences of this process will affect our political and economic life for a long time to come.

Perhaps the main problem is that, having been carried away by the idea of razing the edifice of the totalitarian past to the ground, certain politicians failed to notice the deep cracks in the walls of the edifice of the present which now threatens to bury in its rubble not just the wreckers themselves, but also those standing alongside this wall.

One would need to be totally naive to think that the destruction of the Soviet Union will not trigger an appropriate chain reaction within the framework of Russia itself and, indeed, several of the other sovereign republics which have become members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. After all, only the process of economic revival which is truly capable of depoliticizing society and saving it from extremes could halt the destructive logic of the country's collapse. However, this process does not exist in our country—not even in embryo form.

All we have are the theoretical projections by individual politicians and economists, including the government's vice premiers, who, back in the past, successfully gained masters and doctorate degrees in the sphere of propaganda and defense of Marxist-Leninst theory, especially in the sphere of the economics of socialism; today,

however, they are successfully reviling our entire development and striving to conduct yet another experiment on the Russian people.

Let me remind our esteemed "men in power" of the words of Petr Arkadyevich Stolypin, one of the greatest Russian reformers: "The only government which has the right to exist is that which possesses mature state thinking and firm state will." Up to now, neither of these features has been evident, and the government's policy today is based primarily on the trust and patience of the masses, who were deceived several times before and may be deceived again in the near future.

In this connection, I would like to remind people's deputies, especially Russian Supreme Soviet members, of what they promised the voters. But this is probably not worth doing, as I happen to know that, while visiting their own districts during the Christmas holiday, many of them were told all this by their voters standing in waiting lines for bread and milk.

Today, with the silent consent of many people's deputies and under the slogans of the new democracy, minister-theoreticians have emerged on the chess board of Russian politics and economics. Unfortunately, their strategy for the development of events looks just one or two moves ahead—they do not picture the game as a whole, nor do they realize that real life itself could force them into check-mate in a very short space of time. Even the Russian president would do well to remind his "reform team" (which, in my view, is more deserving of the name "wrecking team") of the logic of actions expounded in his speech at the last Congress of Russian People's Deputies and ask them to take a look at the main clauses of his election manifesto. Perhaps the aforesaid is somewhat tactless on my part, but sometimes such steps have to be taken as the president's "circle" tries in every possible way to protect him from contacts not only with the people and parliament, but also with the vice president.

Russia's crisis situatic , which manifested itself with particular clarity in the very first week following the price liberalization, will not be tolerated by the people for long. It is only natural that people, rapidly losing faith in the central Russian authorities, will try to find a way out via some sort of "petty state mentality" [melkogosudarstvennost]. I think it is clear what this will lead to. Disintegration. But the disintegration of Russia this time. Instead of the consistent realization of one of the main election slogans—"The Revival of Russia"—the right of nations to state self-determination is beginning to take root and is being encouraged. Some people even want to enshrine this right in the new constitution.

Let me remind readers that there are currently over 130 nations and ethnic groups living on Russia's territory. As a result of the activity by some of our "mega-thinkers" and fathers of Russian "democracy," it is quite feasible that we might end up with over 100 "banana republics." But this suits those who openly say that this is Russia's historic destiny.

I would like to quote the warning by I.A. Ilin, well-known Russian political scientist and philosopher: "The contemporary Russian politician, whatever his age and in whichever country he may be, must consider thoroughly the tragic experience of the Russian downfall and then turn to history. He must seek in the history of mankind the vital and healthy bases of any form of statehood, and the main axioms of the law and state health, and retrace their development and fate in Russian history.

"Then the fate of the Russian state will be revealed to him—the sources of its strength (what binds Russia together, what makes her strong?), the course of its great power status (Russia's growth despite all the difficulties and obstacles!), and the reasons for its periodic downfall (the dissipation of state empathy and sacrifice). Let him investigate the current situation in Russia, and let him try to imagine its FUTURE CONTOURS. Then let him express publicly what he sees."

I think that the people would help such a political leader to insure himself against the pernicious and treacherous formula according to which "Russia in general will not exist—there will be a federation of a multitude of socialist states." These words were spoken over 40 years ago.

Today the economic process of transition to market structures has, to all intents and purposes, been allowed to just drift along. With it, the political state process went on the decline.

Even if a way out of the economic crisis could somehow be found—even if in five or 10 years' time—the way out of the state and political crisis may have to be soughts over decades if not hundreds of years. In such a situation, the long-awaited morsel of sausage amid such unstable petty-statehood formations could stick in your throat.

The impoverishment of the population is acquiring catastrophic dimensions. The latest statistics show that the vast majority of Russian citizens found themselves beneath the poverty line after the price liberalization. This is no wonder, given that the level of the minimum wage or pension—at 342 rubles [R]—is only enough for 1.5 kg [kilogram] of smoked sausage, or 30 packets of cigarettes, or 16 kg of apples. It could be said that these are unlikely examples, but just show me store counters with food products at a price accessible to the pensioner, student, teacher, physician, or invalid. Not to mention clothes, without which it is impossible to live. Therefore, it seems to me that today we can already start talking about how we Russians are to survive as a nation.

That which is now happening to us and to Russia is nothing less than the tragic history of a great country. A mutilated, oft reviled, but nonetheless great history. And we, our generation, please God, must not turn the last

page at this juncture, but must help our children to continue the history of the Russian state.

Ultimately, it is necessary to figure out in a politically sober and rational way—and this goes for the supreme legislative power too—where to draw the line between commitment to the principle of state self-determination and the total collapse of the Russian state. Once again I am forced to repeat that we are extraordinarily close to this, especially with the calls to introduce citizenship for inhabitants of republics within the Russian Federation, to establish state borders inside Russia, and to adopt local constitutions which will stand above the Russian Constitution.

One gets the impression that the "presidential flood" can no longer be halted, and that the break-up of the once unified Army could lead not just to republic armies, but also oblast, city, and perhaps even village armies. Then we may run up against an "iron flood" which will leave the Russian land bloodstained and in ruins.

Can it be that we, a great power, Russia, famed for its Army—an army of honor and dignity, an invincible army famed for legendary victories through the ages—have brought our military, like our people, to a state of destitution. Hundreds of thousands of homeless, hundreds of thousands of disadvantaged people and their families, doomed by the system to roam, condemned to a future as beggars who can be insulted and murdered with impunity. When was this ever the attitude toward the Russian Army? Let me remind those who want to split Great Russia into "banana" states and republics: The Bashkir, Tatar, Udmurt, Mari, Karelian, Yakut, Chuchki, Kalmyk, Jewish, Mordvinian, Adygey, Chechen, Ossetian, Kabardinian, Dagestani and other peoples have always stood shoulder to shoulder with Russians in unified formation in the Russian Army.

What has split us in these "troubled" times which today are dubbed democracy? Can it be that we cannot live together? Can it be that we were buried in separate graves in the battlefields for the glory of Russia and the fatherland?

No, it is impossible to destroy in one blow the bridge of memory between today and yesterday. It is a sin to say that today we are starting from scratch, and that Russia's history means nothing to the present day and age.

I will allow myself in this connection to refer again to I.A. Ilyin: "The new Russian Constitution should combine the advantages of the authoritarian system with the advantages of democracy, removing the dangers of the first and the shortcomings of the latter.

"The state system of the new Russia should be unitary in form, and federative in spirit. The unity of the state and the central power cannot depend on agreement between a host of separate, autonomous states (whether oblast or national states)—this will destroy Russia. But a unified and strong central organ of power should single out spheres of autonomy for oblast and national autonomous formations, and invest the nationwide [vsenarodnoye] entity with a spirit of fraternal solidarity... Russia should have a strong center, authoritative in form, but popular and of all the people [narodnyy i vsenarodnyy] in essence and spirit.

"In this organic entity the most important thing is for the strong organ of power to ensure that it does not become too manifest: Everything that can be done noncentrally should be conducted autonomously; the strength of the center should not crush the autonomous creativity of people and corporations but, in their hour of need, free people and autonomous corporations should receive support and succor from the strong center. Then the strong organ of power will be reconcilable with the free initiative [samodeyatelnost] of the people."

We must be fully cognizant of the fact that the destruction of Russian statehood would not only have a negative influence on the fate of Russia, but would also engender processes, terrible in their potential consequences, in the sovereign states which have been closely linked with Russia, both in the Soviet Union framework and long before. It is naive to imagine that, in conditions of state degradation and the emergence of the petty state mentality, we would be able to ensure the protection of human rights, including the rights of ethnic Russians. And it is all the more criminal to imagine that, should Russia undergo such a collapse, we would be able to effectively preserve our cultural and historical heritage, or develop Russian culture as a multifaceted entity.

I do not advocate the revival of the Soviet Union, and have already spoken on this topic more than once. The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States is, evidently, the sole and the best possible solution to the situation that prevails today. But I cannot help noting that this solution was found more in haste than through deliberation, and for this reason, to this very day it drags in its wake a trail of incomplete agreement, misunderstanding, and a lack of a clear vision of prospects.

We console ourselves with the fact that, as M.S. Gorbachev loved to say, "the process has begun." But, living in today's anxious world, one would like to see the framework and direction of this process more clearly and, ultimately, to clearly define "the rules of the game" within the new commonwealth. Ultimately, I am convinced that it should be perceived as no more than a transitional form from the status of the former Union to the status of the new statehood of its component republics, which will definitely arrive at a realization of the need for coordinating organs, unprejudiced mutual cooperation, and joint defense of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The historical intertwining of our peoples' destinies is in reality much firmer than many of our political scientists and economists try to present it. People have simply not yet realized the full extent of the disruption of ties which is actually taking place, and which could objectively

deepen in the immediate future in the event of relations between the former union republics developing unfavorably.

But is there a way out? I am confident that there is. Above all, it is necessary to clearly realize that "Russia is unified, but indivisible" and this principle should be enshrined as the underlying principle of the new Russian Constitution. As far as I personally am concerned, I repeat once again—I will do everything to prevent the collapse of Russia. If only because I am a Russian officer, and have sworn an oath of loyal service to the fatherland, and I have only one fatherland—Russia. There are millions of officers like me, the glorious, renascent Russian cossacks, millions of my fellow citizens who love and believe in their fatherland—Rus.

And state leaders, especially those who came to power on the crest of a wave of national-careerism, "should put that in their pipes and smoke it": No one will cede to them a single inch of sacred Russian soil. Decrees by the former Communist rulers and the hasty decisions of the Politburo are not binding on us. For us the main decree is Russia's thousand-year history. The demarcation of borders, and nothing but the demarcation of borders will dot the "i's" and define Russia as a power and not as a poor relation within the CIS. And this will be done without fail for the glory of Russia, however the political leaders of national-careerism may try to drive it back within its 12th century borders.

I appeal to patriots, to the citizens of Russia, irrespective of nationality, creed, or origin, to ponder the sense of what I have said. And to rebuff once and for all the backstage scenarios aimed at destroying the fatherland. For the sake of the great motherland, for the sake of our children, who must live in this sacred land and not be paupers like our grandfathers, fathers, and indeed, ourselves, the present generation. At the same time it is perfectly clear: We are not talking about infringing in any way the right of any nation or people to preserve its historical and cultural identity within the framework of a unified Russia.

It is important to secure in reality the principle of maximum possible decentralization as regards the adoption of decisions without undermining the state as such, and without giving petty stateist tendencies an opportunity to develop. After all, for example, the introduction of dual citizenship within the framework of Russia is, essentially speaking, not only a juridical nonsense, but will also entail consequences which could negatively influence the whole range of Russia's relations with other states. And in so doing, God forbid, take as starting point the religious affiliation of one people or another, as some individual, truly extremist politicians are calling, since blood will flow in this scenario before border posts are set up.

The destruction of Russia as a unified state will inevitably pose with utmost urgency the question not only of its so-called "new" internal borders, but also of its historical "external" borders. After all, it is no secret to anyone that today we are already encountering de facto the territorial question as a direct result of the collapse of the USSR. And there are no guarantees at all that it will not occupy a central position in the framework of the newly-created Commonwealth, especially in view of the recent intensification of the tendency toward demarcation along national lines.

The historical awareness of Russian citizens will not allow anyone to implement a mechanical combination of the borders of Russia and the Russian Federation, renouncing all that constituted the glorious pages of Russia's history. I know that some people will censure this writer for nationalism or chauvinism, but if the tendency toward national isolation intensifies, it is impossible not to think of the possible reaction of the people. The people of Russia, and not the Russian government, especially not the present one, which is prepared to make any concessions in the framework of the socioeconomic experiment they are conducting.

We need to be fully aware of the fact that the appearance of border posts and barbed wire along the borders with the states contiguous to Russia will in no way facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act or subsequent agreements aimed at forming a single Europe.

The process of the collapse of Russia should be stopped by constitutional means. And here the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies has a major role to play. If we once adopt the wrong decision, we will unequivocally drive Russian history into deadlock, exposing to danger the fate of tens of millions of people.

History has a knack of repeating itself. But the history of the Soviet Union cannot be allowed to repeat itself within the framework of Russia. It is still, in my view, possible to avert such a development of events. But time is running out. The deepening economic crisis, the hullabaloo over the Army, so fraught with the risk of explosion, and the people's growing apathy and lack of faith in the possibility of real changes could lead, as early as the next few months, to the chaos of 1917.

'Novosti' Reports on 'Triumvirate' in Moscow

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[Video report by correspondent Yelena Karayeva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] (?The departure) of Boris Yeltsin (?on a trip to the New World) may introduce an additional nuance to the present arrangement of forces in the Russian leadership. It was thought that Aleksandr Rutskoy and Ruslan Khasbulatov, the vice president and chairman of parliament respectively, would remain behind to manage things, so to speak.

However, as has been reported, at the last minute Gennadiy Burbulis, the deuty prime minister, left behind by the president in the capital, joined them. As a result, there is now a clear triumvirate in Moscow. Aleksandr Rutskoy, at the beginning of December, shocked many by saying that in his opinion there is neither authority nor democracy in Russia. In the opinion of Ruslan Khasbulatov, a situation is already arising now when it can be proposed to replace the government, which is practically incapable of functioning, and that he will not care what the government or the president do.

Gennadiy Burbulis rejected the objections of his opponents, assuming that he is dealing with politicians who are incapable of accepting the objective logic of reform and finding their own place in it.

And so, at the present time, these three hold power, which taken together is comparable to presidential power. And we will not forget that times when top leaders are absent are fraught with serious consequences. We remember Krushchev's rest in Pitsunda or Gorbachev's rest in Foros.

And not only in our country, by the way. After the attempted assasination of Ronald Reagan on 30 March 1981, it was sufficient for Secretary of State Alexander Haig, previously also a military man, to say a single sentence on television—"I am in control of the situation"—for the whole of America to be alarmed; is this a coup? For, according to the U.S. Constitution, the secretary of state, in the event of circumstances of a force majeur, is only fifth in line behind the president's chair.

In a word, on one side of the scales opposing the government are Aleksandr Rutskoy and Ruslan Khasbulatov, on the other Gennadiy Burbulis, the official whose job is to represent the government in Moscow. So what will the political scenery be like after the president's return?

State-Legal Administration Powers Questioned

PM3101100192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Rudnev: "Why Does Russia Need the New State-Legal Administration? While There Is Talk of Separating Powers, an Attempt Is Being Made to Fuse Them Together Completely"]

[Text] Russian Minister of Justice Nikolay Fedorov's answer about his attitude to the Russian president's new State-Legal Administration [SLA] at his 28 January news conference in the Central House of Journalists was followed by a pause of almost two minutes. The feeling was that N. Fedorov was taken aback not so much by the abruptness of the question as, more likely, by the sensitive nature of his new position in relation to the president and his comrade-in-arms in legal reform, SLA Head Sergey Shakhray.

The Russian SLA was born back on 27 December 1991, a few days after the formation of another monster with the acronym MSIA [Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs]. From this point of view, the president's desire to strengthen his influence on the government and shift the center of gravity of the day-to-day administration of Russia to a narrow circle of his advisers and appointees is obvious. But whereas the public started talking about the MSIA right away and was harshly critical of it, at first the SLA stayed out of the glare of public scrutiny. Even today, a month after the SLA's birth, the attitude to this new piece on the chessboard of political infighting is, so to say, equivocal. Some commentators view what has happened as palace feuding between government officials and the Yeltsin administration. Others are focusing their attention on the SLA staffers' high salaries (there are 304 staffers, and the annual salary fund is 4.6 million rubles) and the high-caliber social welfare benefits which promise to fill the presidential structures with competent and intelligent cadres from parliament and the law-enforcement organs. Still others hint at personal ambitions.

Nikolay Fedorov diplomatically described the SLA as "an unusual formation in the state power system." Sidestepping a legal and political analysis of the functions of Yeltsin's new apparatus, he initially paused only on a linguistic analysis of the combination of words "the president's State-Legal Administration." The minister of justice believes that "the president's administration" is ambiguous, it would have been better and more precise to call it the "administration under the president." But then N. Fedorov began to speak more frankly. For example, he described the SLA's first brainchild—the draft law "On Criminal Liability for Deliberate Failure to Implement RSFSR Laws"—as crazy. The wording of this draft—the part stating that actions contradicting the interests of the Russian Federation are punishable by a 7-year prison sentence—is tantamount to political thuggery. Quoting from history, N. Fedorov said that the German Third Reich had its interests as well, and we know what this led to. Finally the minister called the SLA's activity "dangerous" and said that it would lead to "unpleasant consequences in practice" and a "paralysis of power."

So what is it exactly, this SLA? Its main administrative task is laid down as follows: "Tasks of coordination and analysis, backup tasks involving the day-to-day activity of the president and the government, and coordinating the activity of state power and administrative organs." The SLA chief is authorized to submit draft laws for Russia to the Russian Federation president, to give his seal of approval to texts of presidential and government laws, decrees, and directives already adopted by parliament before they are signed, and to provide official explanations on the application of current legislation. But this is not all. The SLA handles questions of civil defense, pardons, awards, citizenship, the granting of political asylum, and state policy in the area of ethnic

relations. Finally, the SLA has been tasked with cooperating with the Supreme Soviet apparatus and the Russian Constitutional and Supreme Court. As far as defense organs, the militia, state security, justice, the Prosecutor's Office, and arbitration are concerned, the SLA chief "keeps an eye" on them. And another detail: In his new post, S. Shakhray is accountable and subordinate to Russian President Boris Yeltsin alone.

Now roll all the SLA's powers together into a single whole and add all Sergey Shakhray's posts to this—deputy head of the government, Russian Federation state counselor on legal policy, chief of the Russian president's State-Legal Administration, Russian Federation people's deputy, and member of the Russian Supreme Soviet. What happens? What happens, it seems, is that the three powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—are almost completely fused in one official, above whom there is seemingly only one man left in the Russian table of ranks—Boris Yeltsin himself, the country's president. President for show only, for his activity is restricted by the Constitution and the laws. For the SLA, however, there is no written law. Its working methods—overseeing, coordinating, and approving—are far from being legal. And symbolically, it seems, S. Shakhray's apparatus has located itself in one of the party mansions on Staraya Ploshchad. It was there, in the not too distant past, that all the threads of state power converged in one fist. It was not the law that ran the show there, but the clan commandments of "overseeing, approving, and coordinating."

So why does Russia need the new SLA?

Deputy Procurator General Interviewed on Putsch

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[Interview with Deputy Procurator General of the Russian Federation Yevgeniy Lisov by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondents Andrey Abrosimov and Andrey Zhdankin; on 21 January 1992; place not given; published under the rubric "A Topical Interview": "The Answer Is Unequivocal—There Was a Plot"]

[Text] **An official announcement was made last week that the SCSE [State Committee on the State of Emergency] investigation is complete. The accused (12 people) and their defense attorneys were given access to the full volume of case materials. Millions of citizens are just as interested in it. A news conference on the occasion of the investigation's completion took place 22 January, and the day before ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondents met with the head of the investigative group, Deputy Procurator General of the Russian Federation Yevgeniy Lisov.**

[Correspondent] Yevgeniy Kuzmich, there are several points of view on the August events; therefore, the first question: Was there a putsch?

[Lisov] A "putsch" is not a legal notion; the law on crimes against the state has another definition: "a plot with the purpose of seizing power." The answer is unequivocal: There was a plot. An analysis of all documents that came to our attention and the testimony of several thousand people permits us to contend that those accused of usurping power had indeed developed a suitable scenario and implemented it. Investigation materials prove it convincingly.

One of the accused had in his possession a whole collection of copies of documents in which everything that needed to be done in the country to reverse its development was described in detail. The plan was to abolish entirely the current structures of power and administration from the Supreme Soviets to rural soviets, to liquidate executive power, and to create a provisional committee for governing the country and a new Cabinet of Ministers (one of the plotters was supposed to head it, but it was to be Tizyakov rather than Pavlov). Everything that brings us closer to a market and makes economic reforms a reality would have been nullified. The economy was supposed to return to a strict administrative, almost military, command.

There is a draft presidential decree (not Gorbachev's but someone else's) on the struggle against crime. It prescribes introduction of patrols in every populated point. Should the patrols detain persons guilty of theft, robbery, or rape, they were prescribed—I practically quote it—to execute the perpetrators on the spot by shooting them and to write a respective protocol of the event. It is quite significant that the originals of these documents were found in the possession of another plotter.

[Correspondent] Much in the official version of the events has caused quite a bit of skepticism, to put it mildly. For instance, the suicides that took place immediately after the putsch. Has the explanation for Pugo's and Akhromeyev's deaths changed?

[Lisov] No, it has not changed. No outsiders "had a hand in it." Marshal Akhromeyev was really amazing: He tried to take his life twice; in his suicide note he wrote that he would "have to make a second attempt—the first time I was not successful in committing suicide." Something did not go right. He fell down and was unconscious for about 10 minutes. Then he came to, wrote five or six notes: to the cafeteria—to pay back the money he owed; to the family; to someone else; and a long note to Mikhail Sergeyevich. All of these documents are attached to the case.

[Correspondent] The death of Pugo is riddled with mystery. Why was his wife beaten up, and why was the gun placed in a suspicious way?

[Lisov] We almost eyewitnessed it—he shot himself five minutes before we got there. The wife had not been beaten up. This is the interpretation advanced by Yavlinskiy, who also arrived there. When we came in Valentina Ivanovna was practically unconscious; she was sitting on the floor in a somnambulist state, rocking from

side to side. She was wounded and was smearing blood all over her face with her hand, which is why it looked so horrible. Pugo first shot her and then himself. This is easy to prove. The first things experts do is to take samples from the hands of whoever fired the weapon (a shot leaves traces on them). Valentina Ivanovna did not have any traces on her, only Pugo did. There were also two notes, his and hers. She writes: "Do not blame us for anything. We have to..."

During the last evening Pugo said at home in his son's presence—probably in order to test the reaction—that he would have to leave this life. His wife said: "Borya, if you go, I will not live without you even a day."—"Forget it, I was just kidding."—"And I was serious."

As to the gun, there is no puzzle in this respect, either. Pugo's father was in another room—a very old man, mentally unwell for the reason of both his age and the death of his wife. Having heard the shots, he came out, saw his son's body and the gun, picked up the gun and put it on the shelf.

[Correspondent] Do the investigation materials contradict Gorbachev's account of his stay in Foros? How can the communications with the outside world be totally cut off when, for instance, every Volga car has a radio?

[Lisov] Yes, there were Volga's there equipped with communications gear allowing contact with Moscow; however, the vehicles were locked up and under guard—the guards not being subordinate to Gorbachev. The chief of the presidential protection detail, Generalov, came and brought five or six people with him; he gathered all his personnel and ordered: "You are following only my orders; without me, you take no action." Even Gorbachev's personal protection detail was put in the same situation and did not have access to the cars. The road was blocked by cars, and the helicopter pad closed off by tractors.

There was no need for the plotters to physically eliminate Gorbachev: In the final count, they considered him one of them, and besides they understood what kind of reaction it would cause around the world.

[Correspondent] What was Gorbachev's role in the August events on the whole? There are diametrically opposite opinions in this respect.

[Lisov] He took no part either in the plot or in the plotters' actions, either directly or indirectly. He did not give them any blessing or even a hint of a "green light."

I have my own conclusion regarding Gorbachev, and it is shared by other members of the investigative group, but it is not completely supported by the investigation materials. Because of the nature of his personality, Mikhail Sergeyevich has a major flaw as a leader and a political figure. When it comes to important issues, he does not always find a clear unambiguous solution and has a tendency, as they say, "to land on two chairs." Today he may say "no," but a few days later he may be talked into it, and will say "yes."

When the plotters flew to Foros for the first time on 18 August, I am convinced they were counting on swaying him to their side. And although they left without obtaining his consent, they certainly thought they would be able to pull him over to their side in a couple of days. Can one qualify this as participation? Only in a moral, ethical sense.

What he had said during the questioning was later corroborated by other materials of the investigation and other testimonies. Recalling his phrase "I will never tell everything," it is quite possible that he left something unsaid; however, when it comes to the plot itself, he told everything.

[Correspondent] Have the accused attempted to "dump" everything on Gorbachev?

[Lisov] They say he was in favor of imposing a state of emergency. Nobody argues with this. The point is different—how to impose it. There is a respective law; they disregarded it and started to impose the state of emergency without a single legal ground. None of them maintains, however, that Gorbachev gave his consent to transfer power to someone else—according to their testimony, to this he did not agree. In respect of the coup, the investigation does not have any questions of substance toward him; however, there is an ongoing investigation involving party finances. There are many acute, painful questions there—including the one about the financing of foreign communist parties. Gorbachev must be questioned. In addition to questioning him as former general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, all other former Politburo members undoubtedly must be questioned.

[Correspondent] What amounts are we talking about?

[Lisov] Hundreds of millions dollars during the last decade alone.

[Correspondent] The press had published a list of people whom the plotters were planning to intern. Has it been corroborated by the materials of the investigation?

[Lisov] There was such a list—surnames, names and patronymics typed on a clean sheet of paper—but it had been destroyed. We have reconstructed it from the testimony of witnesses who had been told: "Three of you are taking Yakovlev; three of you—Shevardnadze," and so on. Considerably more were assigned to deal with Yeltsin—about 30 people. These are people from the KGB, the ubiquitous guys in civilian clothes, properly armed. There were a total of about 300 of them. They were instructed to go to a certain address, find a certain person, establish surveillance, and be ready to detain him. They were not apprised of subsequent plans, which were kept only in the heads of the main figures, but the latter say they had "nothing sinister in mind."

[Correspondent] How serious were the plotters' plans in regard to Yeltsin?

[Lisov] The plan for Yeltsin's arrest had been considered at one of SCSE meetings. Even earlier, when he went on the trip to Alma-Ata, all preparation had been made to "transport Boris Nikolayevich to a designated place for a conversation"—in their words. They had in mind one of the Ministry of Defense dachas. A detail was sent to Sosnovka dacha to take care of the preparations in place. Some of the plot organizers were supposed to have a conversation with Yeltsin. In all probability, to present their terms and an ultimatum. Then they decided to give up on the negotiations, believing that they would not be able to talk Yeltsin into anything.

[Correspondent] Why did the assault on the White House not take place?

[Lisov] They became frightened of the people. The plans for the assault had been discussed in earnest in the KGB and other places. Briefly, the plan went as follows: Internal troops are brought in in a wedge formation and clear the defenders out of a passage to the building; then the Alpha Group are emplaced in the cleared space. They break through the walls with the help of grenade launchers—they also have other means of combat, even more powerful, of the kind that even the Army does not have. Alpha fans out into different floors, suppressing any resistance; then the shock troops of the B Group go into action. This one also belongs to the KGB but its task is foreign operations. This group was supposed to finish the final stage of internment [as published].

The specialists who were preparing the assault had gone to the place of action to do the reconnaissance. Upon return, they reported that they were ready to carry out the mission (it is true that it would have taken only about 20 minutes), but warned that there would be "a sea of blood." For this kind of massacre somebody would have to be held responsible eventually, no matter what the outcome of the putsch.

[Correspondent] How does, for instance, Kryuchkov describe the situation at the White House?

[Lisov] He acknowledges that the operations had been planned, but were later rejected. Ostensibly all of this was being done only for the purpose of protecting the White House. And the Army was brought in for the same purpose. Kryuchkov says is was known that there were armed people both inside and outside the building, and that a very dangerous situation could emerge.

One more important circumstance. At the middle level of the KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and to a lesser degree in the Army, far from everybody had supported the plotters—even in the KGB apparatus. Protests started to sound, objections voiced. The plotters were not completely confident that even all of their own would support them. By the way, completely different kinds of calls were heard from the party and the VPK [military-industrial complex]: "Have you gotten cold feet?! Go ahead with it!"

[Correspondent] The press reported that many important documents had been destroyed. Have gaps been left in the investigation, unclear points?

[Lisov] We have found the main documents—those born in the heart of the SCSE. There are about 15 of them. Many more documents were found in the Ministry of Defense, the KGB, and the MVD. These agencies were ready to work for the plotters. The military districts were ready to do anything; they received all the needed instructions. All Yazov had to do was say: "Go ahead!" The same in the KGB and the MVD. The troops—army, KGB, and internal—had been brought to the status of "enhanced combat readiness"—this means readiness for war.

[Correspondent] Was a nuclear incident possible?

[Lisov] It cannot be ruled out. It could get to anything, had certain forces shown a greater interest in interfering in the situation.

We have absolute clarity in respect to the kind of work the leadership of these organization had conducted. They had not brought the executors into it in advance, however—district and armies commanders, and so on—but these people were supposed to carry out their orders. We have analyzed the entire vertical chain down to the division level. We have more than 200 volumes of materials related to the Army alone. Only those who had been involved in the plot from the point of its origination have been found to be a part of the plot—Yazov, Varennikov, and Achalov, who, unfortunately, has escaped culpability. It is possible that charges—including criminal ones—will be brought against some other people, because many things have come out, but that would already be outside of the plot case.

[Correspondent] Who was the main figure in the putsch?

[Lisov] I cannot name anyone for the reason of presumption of innocence, but the investigation has divided all the arrested into two categories: the executors and the main organizers. There are six of them.

[Correspondent] So was the plot really spontaneous, as the defense attorneys maintain?

[Lisov] The investigation has not found that the plot had been planned a year or two ago. A clear-cut cohesiveness among the plotters—after numerous "feelers," conversations, and learning of positions—took place in August, when they felt a "breath" of danger in the form of the Union Treaty, believing that this meant the disintegration of the USSR, liquidation of many all-Union structures, and most likely a threat to personal well-being. At this point they made the last step and started to act. However, every one of those who chose this road had become a plotter psychologically long before then. There have also been clandestine meetings. Many events took

place at the ABC [expansion unknown] establishment. Now it is the residence of the president where the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] leadership meets. At that time it was a KGB safe house that belonged to the First Chief Directorate (foreign intelligence). It does not have a postal address; it is very well equipped for all kinds of purposes. The putschists gathered there, for instance, on 17 August; there also had been earlier meetings, not only in August. During the entire year they met in Boldin's office—eight times in January alone, for example. Of course, there is nothing criminal by itself in holding meetings, but why would Pavlov, Kryuchkov, and Yazov all of a sudden start gathering in Boldin's office? He is not their equal to summon them to his office. They are among the top officials of the state, while he is only a member of the CPSU apparatus. It cannot be used as cut-and-dried evidence—but still.

[Correspondent] Four and a half months—is this long enough to investigate such an unprecedented case?

[Lisov] It is indeed not very long. The specifics of this criminal case are such that the "circle of evidence" may be expanded ad infinitum. There is literally an ocean of information. Quite consciously we have limited the investigation to the bounds sufficient to investigate the main questions: Was there a plot, who are its organizers and participants, and what are the proofs of their guilt?

[Correspondent] The defense attorneys are accusing the investigation of dragging the case on...

[Lisov] We believe we have not stretched the time limits. We could have finished the investigation by the end of November had it not been for the state of health of several of the accused—sometimes they could not participate in the investigative actions.

[Correspondent] Have you questioned members of the plotters' families?

[Lisov] Yes. They say only good things of their loved ones, present them as decent people, loving fathers, husbands, brothers. None of the family members have been in on this thing—there is no information to the contrary. Wives and children had no knowledge of many things that were part of the other, "business" life. The family remained separated from the court intrigues.

[Correspondent] Why is the case on the CPSU finances separated into separate proceedings?

[Lisov] For now, it is called "a case on the financial activities of the party." We started looking into that as early as in October. It has been established in the course of investigation of the circumstances of the plot that there were no grounds to charge the arrested plotters with any violations of the financial activities of the party.

[Correspondent] The materials on wiretapping also go through separate proceedings. There is an opinion that this is being done deliberately in order to deflect the brunt of it away from Gorbachev.

[Lisov] The files with wiretap materials were found in Boldin's safe in the very beginning of the investigation. A special group was tasked to analyze what relation these materials had to the plot. The wiretaps had been conducted by Kryuchkov's agency in respect of people who could be considered political opponents of the existing regime. Among them were Yeltsin, his immediate entourage, democratically minded deputies, and more.

[Correspondent] Has pressure been exerted on the investigation?

[Lisov] If you mean pressure from the power structures and the leaders of the state, I can tell you that during the entire investigation we have not written a single official report to anybody. Nobody demanded or asked information or reports either on the telephone or in writing. During the questioning of one of the top figures in the country he said that he was deliberately avoiding asking Stepankov about the case in order "not to create an impression that I want to put some pressure on."

[Correspondent] Has the behavior of the arrested changed in the course of investigation?

[Lisov] In terms of human relations with the investigators—no. All changed their attitude toward the primary evaluation of the deed. At first they were more open, predisposed toward finding out the truth. Then, under the influence of their attorneys, some even started calling black white. If a person set for himself a noble goal—to do something good for the people (this is how they present their actions), then it is not fitting to choose a position of, if I may say so, a recidivist pickpocket.

[Correspondent] Will this be an open trial?

[Lisov] Our position is that this should be a public trial, completely open to the media, so that everybody in the world knows what happened here.

[Correspondent] When will it start?

[Lisov] It is quite possible that it will not even start this year. The attorneys and the accused will probably require half a year to study the case. They are accusing us of delays, but during the first day the two attorney who had been most vocal in their demand to study the case, read only five pages. Then the court needs to study the materials.

P.S. (postscript). The investigation has been completed, but the investigators' work is not over. There are 60 people that will remain in the group. Twenty will assist in studying the case, while the rest will be writing the criminal information. However, as often happens in this country, out of sight means out of mind. Somehow, the funds suddenly run out. And the agency of the esteemed Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray have already got their hands on the cozy former apartments of Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov's party. Perhaps, this is where the raw truth and

the higher justice is? Witty investigators advance an idea, however, that it would not be too bad to finish the case where it started at clandestine meetings of the future SCSE members—at the ABC establishment.

Lukyanov Claims Putsch Actions 'Correct'

LD2401105592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jan (TASS)—Anatoliy Lukyanov, former chairman of the USSR parliament, considers that his actions during the August putsch were correct. "In the main I acted correctly, for I did not commit any digressions of the law or betray the interests of the Supreme Soviet", he said in an interview for the weekly "ARGUMENTY I FAKTY".

After the recent conclusion of the investigation into the matter of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, which lasted four and one-half months, Anatoliy Lukyanov and the other 11 members of the putsch were charged with a plot to seize power in the country.

The former leader of the Soviet parliament expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would be revived on "some kind of new basis".

RIA-Novosti Reacts to IZVESTIYA Article

PM3001153092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 92 Moscow Edition p 2

[Unattributed report citing letter from RIA-Novosti General Director A. Vinogradov: "Letter From RIA"]

[Text] On 23 January IZVESTIYA published an item entitled "TASS and RIA: 'Bolivar Abhors Pairs.'" On 24 January the editorial office received a letter from A. Vinogradov, general director of RIA-Novosti.

It says that immediately after the formation of the RIA-Novosti agency about five months ago on the basis of the former APN-IAN, its new leadership reached an agreement with the relevant competent bodies on removing those bodies' staffers from the agency's staff, including all its foreign bureaus. By the end of 1991 these personnel changes had been carried out, and today the RIA-Novosti offices are staffed by journalists.

RIA-Novosti's material base, including the network of foreign bureaus mentioned in the IZVESTIYA article, was inherited by RIA-Novosti from the propagandist structures of the former APN-IAN. At the beginning of 1991 RIA-Novosti had some 80 foreign bureaus and correspondents' offices, and it was planned to reduce this number by half this year. This is primarily because of the changed nature of the agency's operations and its transformation from a propagandist agency into a news agency.

The agency is also looking for ways to relieve its budget of the burden of expenditure on maintaining RIA-Novosti. In this connection we have submitted for examination by the Russian Government a draft for turning RIA-Novosti into a people's concern—a joint-stock company of the open type, in which newspapers, journals, television and radio stations, and other interested corporate bodies and individual citizens could be shareholders.

Afanasyev Rejects Talks With Democratic Russia

MK3001094092 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 2 Feb 92 p 8

[Tatyana Mikhalskaya report: "'Ideologues' Break With 'Apparatchiks'"]

[Text] "Democratic Russia" [DR] leaders and ideologues Yuriy Afanasyev, Leonid Batkin, Yuriy Burtin, Bella Denisenko, and Marina Salye, warned their comrades-in-arms last week of the threat of the impending demise of the DR movement.

"Having played a marked role in the events that brought about the collapse of the Communist regime," their statement says, the movement "found itself incapable of formulating and upholding its own line in the post-August situation." Therefore the authorities "while retaining some ritual courtesy toward DR, are taking it less and less seriously."

Mentioning a number of objective factors that brought about the decline in DR's prestige (the "extreme complexity of... the economic and sociopolitical conditions," the "exclusively transitional... nature of state structures," and so on) the authors of the statement nevertheless saw the main threat to DR in the activity of the incumbent leadership—Lev Ponomarev, Vladimir Bokser, Mikhail Shneyder, etc. Calling these members of the Coordinating Council "new apparatchiks," the DR leaders accused them of poseurism, lack of principle, intrigue, "lobbying" official Russian leaders, and also of uncontrolled spending of money in the DR fund. The last seems somewhat strange, considering that Yuriy Afanasyev is president of the fund.

With the exception of Marina Salye, the other four "splittists" have said that they are suspending their participation in DR activity. Despite the fact that the original version of the statement was not couched in very proper terms, the members of the Coordinating Council have expressed the hope that its authors will "reconsider." However, via his representatives Yuriy Afanasyev has said that he has no intention of holding any talks with the incumbent Coordinating Council since he considers the results of its election invalid.

In Gleb Yakunin's opinion, like Khasbulatov and Rutskoy, Yuriy Afanasyev has fallen prey to opposition sentiments. While Yuriy Chernichenko remarked that

"ripping shirts and beating one's breast" is not the best way of behaving in a crisis: It is far more useful to keep one's patience.

"These people are bankrupts," Lev Ponomarev said at a press conference. However, according to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's information, the St. Petersburg and Moscow Oblast organizations intend to support the "five's" statement. It is quite possible that a new organizational center may be set up as an alternative to the incumbent Coordinating Council.

'Split' Forecast for Movement

LD3001145492 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation is running a risk of losing the main political force that brought him to power if the Democratic Russia Movement splits. Although representatives of different trends view the situation in the movement at different angles, many of them agree that the amorphous movement consisting of collective and individual members is on the verge of a split.

The crisis in the leadership of the movement, which has been deepening for a few months, reached a head when the leaders of the radical trend within it, led by Yuriy Afanasyev, announced that they suspend membership in the movement.

Last November, three members of the popular accord bloc—the Democratic Party of Russia, the Constitutional-Democratic Party and the Russian Christian Democratic Movement—left the Democratic Russia Movement.

"There is no split in view with just a few leaders declaring they suspend their membership in the movement," Democratic Russia co-chairman Lev Ponomarev told ITAR-TASS. None of the movement's regional organisations has announced its withdrawal from the movement.

"Radicals have been trying to pull us over to the opposition to the government, but this is impermissible," he stressed. "We should not forget that Boris Yeltsin was nominated by the Democratic Russia Movement and the movement naturally identifies itself with him," Ponomarev said. He expressed firm belief that "nothing will change within the movement".

The Movement has been left by people not backed by any structures and who had done no practical work in the movement, Vladimir Bokser, deputy chairman of the Moscow city assembly, said.

Vladimir Lysenko, another co-chairman, representing the centrist Republican Party in the movement, disagrees with the viewpoint of the Moscow group of leaders. "If we fail to pacify the radicals, a split will set in and the Democratic Russia Movement will break up into several junks", he said.

In this case, the political parties will rally around Boris Yeltsin on the basis of the protocol of intent they signed and the radicals will follow Yuriy Afanasyev. Some will follow the Moscow group and the bulk will simply leave the movement and it will cease to be a serious political force.

According to Lysenko, the crux of the crisis consists in political differences between the radical and centrist wings of the Democratic Russia Movement. For a long time, these differences were in the shadows, but after the popular accord bloc withdrew, these differences surfaced and became pivotal. In keeping with the logic of intra-party struggle, the right flank is to be followed by the left one—the radical group led by Yuriy Afanasyev.

The leader of the Republican Party sees two main reasons for demarcation. First, an ideological one. The radicals believe that the movement should not cooperate with the government or seek posts within the leading structure. It should verge on the opposition.

But there is another reason as well. —the movement's Moscow wing, established on the basis of the Moscow Voters' Association, has monopolized the movement's apparate and is using it in its vested interests, which evokes protest from other groups.

According to Vladimir Lysenko, it is now necessary to reach a compromise between different trends by holding elections to all bodies of the movement on a parity basis.

The last attempt at reconciliation, he said, will be made on February 3 at a conference of the movement leaders and deputies - members of the Democratic Russia parliamentary bloc.

Rutskoy Party Dismisses 'Rumors' on Resignation

PM3101093892 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 31 Jan 92 p 2

["Own information" report under the rubric "Rumors Fly": "They Will Meet With Burbulis and Gaydar..."]

[Text] Some of the mass media are publicizing rumors about the impending resignation of the present Russian Government and its replacement by a new one, which will supposedly be headed by the "disgraced" Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. It is also claimed that the "Free Russia" People's Party [FRPP], which he heads, will set the tone at the congress of civil and patriotic forces to be held in February. The idea is that the congress will create a union of such forces, with the intention of supporting the new government.

The press service of "Rutskoy's party" confirmed that these predictions are rumors, and nothing more. At the same time the party's board recently came out in favor of the idea that the government should be formed by

nonparliamentary methods and appointed by decision of the president on his sole authority. Then, people here believe, the time taken to form a Cabinet of Ministers would be reduced.

As for the party's relations with the government, at the beginning of February there is to be a session of its deputies' faction "Free Russia" with the participation of G. Burbulis and Ye. Gaydar, where the question of the need for state participation in the structural restructuring of our economy, which is not yet ready for the market, will most likely be raised. At the same time, incidentally, the FRPP board decided that it will not participate in the work of the aforementioned congress, because of fundamental disagreements with its organizers in their assessments of the present situation. They will only send observers... In contrast to the forthcoming congress's line of sharp opposition to the government and the president, this party intends to focus on reasoned criticism of the authorities' actions and constructive cooperation with them on the path of radical reforms.

Democratic Party Chairman on Program, Economy

OW3101014192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2022 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Interview with Ilya Roytman, vice chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia, by correspondent Nina Kovalenko; place and date not given; from the "Nation and Society" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ilya Roytman [I.R.]: Today we have 50,000 members and represent Russia's biggest political party. Unlike other parties we adhere to rather rigid organizational principles: admission is by application and membership dues are compulsory. We have branches in 600 Russian cities and towns from the Kurils to Kaliningrad. From April to the beginning of December, 1991, our membership has grown from 32,000 to 50,000. Now we have even more members. Over the past six months I've visited 20 regions and I could see that our branches have enormous influence on the local population.

Corr. [Correspondent]: Have you any program?

I.R.: Of course, we have. Its latest edition was adopted with major amendments at the 3rd congress, at the end of 1991. We have also amended the party rules. For instance, a higher-up body can suspend someone's membership or disband a subordinate organization. All of these changes were made on insistence of the local branches. At the beginning, our idea of democracy was rather illusory. Now we have rid ourselves of all illusions and realized that only rigid structures can create adequate conditions for normal work. The congress voted unanimously for these amendments.

Corr.: Is there a danger of rolling down to the notorious principle of democratic centralism, so much idealized by the Communist Party?

I.R.: To begin with, the Communist Party had nothing to do with democratic centralism. Officially, it did adhere to this principle, but essentially democratic centralism is something absolutely different. It exists in all parliamentary parties. As we studied the rules of western parties, we found out that in Germany's Christian Democratic Union, the leaders of regional organizations are appointed from the top. In this country they are elected. Besides that, the difference between the Communist Party and our party is ideological rather than structural. For ideological reasons the party committees had to appoint directors of industrial enterprises and state farms. We are not going to do anything of the sort. One can't indulge in such things in a multi-party system. However, it is impossible to win elections without a rather rigid organization. Evidence of this can be found in the European experience.

Corr.: What's the difference between the old and the new editions of your program?

I.R.: First, our party has been defined as liberal-conservative. This is the main thing. So now the Democratic Party has filled as absolutely definite ideological niche: it is a liberal and conservative party—neo-conservative if you wish, a party in which the priority of human rights and of individual freedom is combined with free entrepreneurship, while the idea of private property—with traditional statehood and adherence to a definite historical set-up. We attach enormous importance to ways of consolidating the family foundations and to religious values. In other words, we give priority to the moral values.

Corr.: What are your views on the economy?

I.R.: In the economic sphere, our basic principles are privatization and private property. But in this sphere, too, we lay the main emphasis on the moral aspect. Private property should never ignore the common interests. One cannot buy a house and drive its tenants out. In short, the program is permeated with all of these moral values, including the ideas of Russian internationalism. In this respect, the party's ideology has taken shape.

Corr.: With which of the Western parties do you maintain relations?

I.R.: We cooperate extensively with the European Democratic Union which unites all of the Western conservative parties, including the British conservatives, the Christian Democratic Union and Greece's New Democracy party. Now we are considering the possibility of joining the European Democratic Union. Its representative, as well as representatives of other Western parties of about the same bias, attended our congress.

Corr.: What are your relations with the Democratic Russia movement?

I.R.: We have quit this movement.

Corr.: But you owe your existence to it, don't you?

I.R.: I wouldn't say so. Firstly because the Democratic Russia was founded in September and the Democratic Party of Russia—in May. Secondly, the name of the movement was proposed by Chairman of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, Mikhail Astafyev, who, with his party, quit this movement, too. Such withdrawals are quite natural. There was only one thing that united us—struggle against totalitarianism. In its absence, differences revealed themselves, so we could not stay with this movement any longer. I must note, however, that we still wanted to come to agreement, as we were aware of our political responsibility and knew that if we abandoned the movement, it would cease to exist very soon, however attractive its accessories and names might be. No movement can exist without an adequate structure. The Democratic Russia leaders' statements to the effect that they mostly draw support from non- party people are simply unserious, because only organized members of political parties can work daily. Here is an example: the Democratic Russia's branch in Samara has practically ceased to exist. Generally speaking, if this movement does not change its ways, it will die.

Corr.: How would you assess the political situation in Russia and the emergence of the Commonwealth of Independent States?

I.R.: The current situation is rather serious. We were against such revolutionary changes—I mean the provisions of the Brest agreement. We were against disintegration in principle and we did not approve of Yeltsin's statement, made before the conclusion of the Commonwealth agreement, to the effect that he would not put his signature under the Union treaty without Ukraine. This undermined the Novo-Ogaryovo process. We were well aware that Kazakhstan and Belarus were ready to sign the Union treaty. If Yeltsin had demonstrated readiness to do so, the treaty would have been concluded and affairs would have run normally. Indeed, Gorbachev was no threat to internal policies. But as a figure popular in the West and as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, he would have been useful during the transitional period, and the problem of the Black Sea Fleet would not have arisen. In my opinion, the Russian leadership's worst mistake was that it hoped to replace the union center. Although Yeltsin was more popular in Russia and in other republics, Gorbachev was perceived as the legitimate leader of the nation. By contrast, Yeltsin had never been looked upon as such for purely psychological reasons and therefore could not take Gorbachev's place. I think that now we should decide what our state system should be like. We must declare in clear terms that there is a Russian state which has its national interests. When we do, we can pass over to tackling the problem of the Crimea and other territories.

Corr.: I understand your party's job is to promote this process.

I.R.: That's right. You know, there are notions which have been discredited, through the Bolsheviks' fault, among them the notion of "great power". These two words are usually frowned upon. I have a different point of view, however. I think that a great power always carries the burden of enormous responsibility. At least Russia always did. It is therefore not surprising that most of the nations that joined Russia at different times, did so of their own free will, aware that the Russian state would never infringe upon their interests. If the nationalities policy had been really rigid, many ethnic groups would have lost their languages and cultural traditions. Russia pursued a different policy, although it was not without errors. Therefore, we come out for a strong Russia. Only a strong state can defend the human rights.

Corr.: Do you think new integration is possible?

I.R.: It is inevitable. I'm not saying that a new union will emerge tomorrow. We are to walk a long way before the time of troubles passes, and we stop scattering stones and start gathering them.

Arms Purchases Being 'Sharply Cut Back'

LD3101120192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Interview with Sergey Vasilyev, economic adviser to the Russian Government, by correspondent Vadim Budnikov, place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Budnikov] We know that significant changes have been made to Russia's military budget. How will they influence the economy in general?

[Vasilyev] Arms purchases are being sharply cut back, by no less than a factor of six to eight times. In real terms this will be no more than one to two percent of the gross national product. In my estimation, the reduction of production in the heavy defense engineering industries may amount to on average 30-40 percent this year.

Defense Aide Urges 2-Million Man Troop Cut

PM3001155692 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 24 Jan 92 p 6

[Olav Trygge Storvik report: "Fresh Visit From Moscow"]

[Text] "The politicians are talking about reducing our military forces by 700,000 men, but in my view they should be reduced by 2 million," Major General Aleksandr Tsalko, Russia's second deputy defense minister, said at a press conference at the Defense Minister in Oslo 23 January. Together with First Deputy Defense Minister Vitaliy Shlykov he held talks 23 January with Defense Minister Johan Jorgen Holst and also met with representatives of the Foreign Ministry and the Storting.

Major General Tsalko is not just anybody. He occupies a high-ranking post in the airborne division, and in the eighties he was the head of a helicopter division in Afghanistan. During the coup in Moscow in August last year, he organized and led the defense of the Moscow's

White House, the Russian national assembly. Since then he has made a rapid political career and is now responsible for questions to do with the withdrawal of forces from Eastern Europe and their relocation in other regions. One of First Deputy Defense Minister Shlykov's responsibilities under the former regime in the Soviet Union was industrial intelligence in the West. Now he works on control of nuclear arms, the questions of "closed cities," and the defense budget.

Their talks 23 January with Defense Minister Holst were about control over Soviet nuclear weapons in a difficult transitional period and the problems of preventing the spread of technical and scientific expertise and knowledge. The withdrawal of Soviet forces and their redeployment in Russia were also discussed.

Major General Tsalko spoke openly and directly about these problems at the press conference 23 January. "We cannot keep the military forces in Russia at the same high level as today, nor do we want to," he said. "But the problem is: What is to happen to the men who become superfluous?"

He said the Russian really does not have a choice. Redeploying the soldiers in new locations solves no problems. "The politicians say that we must reduce by 700,000, but in my view we ought to reduce by 2 million." He has no recipe for what to do with the large number of men who will be excess to needs. "But I think that it is safer that these forces remain under military control for the time being than that they are sent into a life of unemployment and homelessness," he said.

However, he avoided the question of how many troops will be transferred to the Kola Peninsula as forces are redeployed. "We will deploy our forces where needed once the threat has been analyzed thoroughly, but today we are unable to see any growing threat from Norway," he joked, adding that the climate in the north is too cold for forces accustomed to warmer climes.

On this point Defense Minister Johan Jorgen Holst was quick to add that their is nothing to indicate that the Russians are increasing their military presence in the Kola region. "Some air force divisions have arrived there, but no troops. What is important for us is that the Russians respect the agreement on conventional disarmament in Europe and honor the commitment that no regions will be exposed to a greater threat than others. We are relying on the Russians when they say that they will adhere to the provisions contained in existing agreements," Holst said.

Border Guards Officers Lack Adequate Housing

LD3101072992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2359 GMT 27 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] A member of the Committee for Guarding the State Frontier has said that over 11 thousand frontier guard officers had no apartments of their own. On January 27 a member of the housing service of the Committee for Guarding the State Frontier Nikolay Ataysan told PF [POSTFACTUM] that in 1991 the Russian Federation allocated five thousand apartments for the Frontier Guard—less than all other republics of the former USSR except the Baltics. Tajikistan gave least of all—only 125 square meters. The committee's officials are going to address the mayor of Moscow Gavriil Popov about the housing to be allocated to the Frontier Guard who failed to receive 7.9 thousand square meters they were entitled to during the last five years.

Civilian Autority Oversees Military Prosecutors

PM3101093792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Nikolay Burbyga report: "Military Prosecutor's Office Cannot Be Ownerless"]

[Text] Organs of the military prosecutor's office operating on the territory of the Russian Federation, as well as on the territory of the Western, Northern, and Northwestern Groups of Forces, will henceforth be subordinate to the Russian general prosecutor. Such a resolution has been adopted by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Main Military Prosecutor's Office has reported that this decision came in the nick of time. It will make it possible to ensure the uniform application of laws in the Armed Forces, which had been hampered in connection with the abolition of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. Hitherto it had not been clear to whom military jurists would be subordinate or by whose laws they should be guided.

The Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan were the first to resolve this question by placing the military prosecutor's office organs operating on their territories under their jurisdiction. Now Russia too has taken this step. Henceforth military jurists must not feel ownerless on its territory.

Until a new legislative act governing the activity of prosecutor's office organs is adopted, military jurists told me, the statute on the military prosecutor's office approved by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 4 August 1981 is considered to be in force on the Russian Federation's territory.

The personnel of military prosecutor's office organs retain all types of pay and other allowances, and the Russian Federation general prosecutor has been granted the right to establish and alter the structure and complements and to determine the location of military prosecutor's office organs within the limits of the allocated total strength of servicemen, workers, and employees with notification of the Armed Forces General Staff.

Still there is no final decision on what the military law-enforcement organs should be like. On 14 February

the presidents of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] will specially examine the question of the Armed Forces, including deciding the fate of their law-enforcement organs.

Three 'Cosmos' Satellites Launched 30 Jan

LD3101103592 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 31 ITAR-TASS—Three artificial earth satellites, Cosmos-2177, Cosmos-2178, and Cosmos-2179, were launched on Thursday [30 Jan] from Baykonyr with the help of the Proton booster rocket.

The satellites will continue tests on the elements and apparatus of the global space navigation system "Glonass", intended for locating civil aviation aircraft and merchant marine and fishing vessels.

The satellites were put into a near-circular orbit with the following parameters:

- Initial period of circulation 11 hours 16 minutes,
- distance from the earth surface 19,150 km,
- inclination of the orbit 64.5 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Gaydar Comments on Risk of Famine, Dictatorship

LD2801095492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jan (TASS)—The situation in the Russian economy today "is serious, but by no means hopeless. The only thing which may prove to be our undoing is our own impatience and traditional passion for egalitarianism and redistribution", Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister of the Government of the Russian Federation, thinks.

In an interview published in the newspaper TRUD today, he states that "we must hold out for at least six months" until the negative tendencies reach a turning point. The Russian leadership forecasts that production will fall by 20 percent. According to Gaydar, the government sees "the stabilization of the situation, a guaranteed elementary level of control over the situation, and the creation of prerequisites for renewing the growth of production and giving incentives to work" as the most important tasks.

Provided destructive forces "do not rock the boat", price increases in February-March may be limited to 150 percent, the deputy prime minister claims. According to the most realistic forecasts, provided there are no social explosions, by April-May inflation may fall to 5-7 percent a month. "However, much will depend upon the socio-political situation in society," he adds.

In Gaydar's opinion, the worst scenario of the development of events in the country is possible if, under the influence of a wave of social protest, the government is forced to compensate for the fall in living standards by issuing paper money. Inflation will spiral as a result and prices will rise at a rate of 50-60 percent a month, or over 1,000 percent in a year. "Unfortunately, such a turn of events is a real possibility, because there is very great pressure on the government and the social atmosphere in society is white hot," he stresses.

By January, the state had just 7.4 million tonnes of grain, including the seed fund. That is just over one month's requirements, Gaydar says. The life of the country depends a great deal now upon grain imports which are effected under credit agreements. "If, by March, things begin to move backward under the influence of social demagogy, intrigue, social impatience, then credits will cease, too. Mass starvation will begin in the country within a month in this case."

Despite the difficulties, the Russian leadership intends to stick to the chosen course and "there are no fundamental differences in the government with regard to the reform strategy," the deputy prime minister says. In reply to a question on the government's possible resignation, Gaydar stresses that "we have categorically dismissed for ourselves the question of leaving the battlefield of our own accord. The confusion arising from a change in government may paralyze the economy and then dictatorship will be unavoidable."

Predicts 100% Price Rise

LD3001162992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast—read by announcer]

[Excerpt] The main problem today continues to be rising prices and inflation. In the words of Russian Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, February price increases will be approximately 100 percent; that is, prices will once again double. By the end of March they will go up another 4 to 4.5 times. [passage omitted]

Former Official Criticizes Economic Reforms

AU3001125692 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 30 Jan 92 p 31

[Interview with former Soviet Deputy Premier Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by Bernd Ziesemer; place and date not given: "It Cannot Work"]

[Text] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy was significantly involved in drawing up the 500-day plan, the basis on which Gorbachev wanted to introduce the market economy in the USSR in 1990. Because Gorbachev did not implement the plan, Yavlinskiy resigned as deputy premier and was Boris Yeltsin's most important adviser in 1991. Along with Jeffrey Sachs, he drew up a radical new reform program, which Yeltsin is implementing only partially.

[Ziesemer] Mr. Yavlinskiy, you have been a supporter of rapid price reform for several years. Now Boris Yeltsin has implemented it—and you are criticizing his economic policy. Why?

[Yavlinskiy] What economic policy? There isn't any. What is true today is wrong tomorrow. Yesterday people said: We are introducing monetary reform. Today they say: No, we are not. There is no sensible plan, nothing has been prepared. The Russian vice president criticizes the president every day, the president of the Russian Parliament does the same, but the inconsistencies are not eliminated. Everybody does what he wants.

[Ziesemer] The new Russian deputy prime minister, Yegor Gaydar, at least took the first step toward the market economy.

[Yavlinskiy] That is like a game of chess. When in your first move you jump out of cover with your knight it does not mean that you will win the game.

[Ziesemer] At least Gaydar moves his pieces, while everybody else before him only talked about price reform.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, but with the result that in the next few years nobody will be able to join in this game. Seriously, I am asking myself how much longer our people will hold out.

[Ziesemer] That almost sounds like the accusations voiced by the communists, namely that Gaydar is making experiments on the backs of the people.

[Yavlinskiy] No, it would be cynical to say that. Gaydar is an unfortunate man. He is doing what he can do. His people are all my pals. This is why I hope that they are successful. Nevertheless, as an economist all I can say is: This is not how it works.

[Ziesemer] Why not?

[Yavlinskiy] Because we are a long way from having decontrolled prices. In the past prices were determined by a few government officials, now the prices are set by a few bureaucrats in the monopolized enterprises. Control has only switched from one bureaucratic level to another.

[Ziesemer] Still, Gaydar quite rightly says: We need more time for privatization.

[Yavlinskiy] Maybe. Yet, why do we not at least try to synchronize lifting price controls and privatization? Why does the Russian Government not have a harmonized reform plan?

[Ziesemer] The Government's second step is already clear; the reduction of the budget deficit.

[Yavlinskiy] Even that will not work. Subsidies for milk and bread are increasing every day in certain places, subsidies that have not been provided for by Gaydar's budget plan. The government did not take any steps to prevent further wage increases. The logical result is that we will soon be facing hyperinflation. The entire budget proceeds on the assumption that the enterprises make large profits and are therefore able to pay high taxes to the state. This idea is absolutely preposterous, because major parts of the economy are currently simply collapsing.

[Ziesemer] How is Gaydar going to stabilize the ruble when 15 former Soviet republics are pursuing their own budget policies without showing any consideration for the others, which is what they are currently doing? In February, at the latest, Uzbek President Karimov will turn to Yeltsin and demand: Give us more rubles! What will then happen? The republics will introduce currencies of their own.

[Yavlinskiy] We need binding agreements between Russia and the other states. Without a civilized process of separation we will sink into chaos.

[Ziesemer] Still, the successor states to the USSR are concluding many bilateral agreements....

[Yavlinskiy] .... which nobody is observing. Most politicians are currently acting absolutely irresponsibly. One cannot even rely on Russia and the Ukraine to respect their agreements on nuclear arms.

[Ziesemer] The Ukraine is pursuing a course of its own.

[Yavlinskiy] If Russia were to behave differently, it might be possible to convince the Ukraine to pursue a joint course. Yet, in reality, a few irresponsible politicians in Russia are doing nothing but breaking up the political and state system. First it was the Soviet Union, now it is Russia's turn. The individual autonomous regions in the Russian Federation do what they want. The Tatar Republic has just decided to set up its own central bank. In a crumbling state one cannot carry out economic reform. That is the most important difference between our situation today in Russia and the shock therapy in Poland. This is why in this situation it would be irresponsible to ask the West for even more credits

[Ziesemer] But there is no way back, is there?

[Yavlinskiy] So far the politicians have not even seriously tried to harmonize economic reform with all the republics. Right now people are only interested in nice and noisy sensational effects.

[Ziesemer] For a long time you were Yeltsin's most important economic adviser. Are you now one of his opponents?

[Yavlinskiy] I still advise him. Yet, on certain issues I belong to the opposition.

Yeltsin Adviser Sees No 'New' Oil Crisis

PM3001165492 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Jan 92 (NARINGSLIV section) p 3

[Mikael Johansson report: "Estonia's Oil Crisis Will Not Affect the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]"]

[Text] Oil production in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], the former Soviet Union, will fall by a further 10 percent to 450 million tonnes this year. But there will not be a new oil crisis like the one in Estonia at present.

This was the assertion of Professor Anders Aslund, head of the Institute for East European Economics and adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, at a seminar in Stockholm yesterday.

He was speaking at oil company OK Petroleum's "OK Day '92" which had the topical theme of the world's "next oil crisis."

Anders Aslund is not surprised by the acute oil crisis in Estonia. The reason for the crisis is that the exporter, Russia, is being so poorly paid for its oil.

"Russia has reduced exports by 30 percent and is demanding world market prices from the Baltic countries," said Aslund, who told his audience that Russia has quite simply banned exports until it has a sensible export levy system.

Today's system of special export levies on Russian oil is complicated and unsatisfactory, Aslund said in an interview with NARINGSLIV after his address.

He revealed that the government will introduce a new export tax system in a few months' time. It will ensure that the extreme price difference between the sale price and the world market price is actually met. With today's ruble exchange rate the producer receives 50 cents for a barrel of oil, compared with the price of $18 on the world market.

Aslund thinks that the ruble is undervalued and that it should be increased to six times the current exchange rate. If this were to happen, the price of oil would end up around $3. According to Aslund's proposal, the new export levy would then need to be around $15 in order for Russian producers to receive a world market price.

"This is the main key to getting the production and sales of oil in the former Soviet Union going again," Aslund said. The other key is letting in companies from the West who can help in oil extraction.

According to prognoses, Russian oil exports to places outside the former Soviet Union, now the CIS states, will fall from 60 million tonnes last year to 40 million tonnes this year (Russia is responsible for 90 percent of oil production in the CIS).

But Aslund is firmly convinced that in a year's time exports will increase dramatically again.

"Oil is one of the lesser problems in the Soviet Union today. Despite everything the Soviet Union is responsible for one sixth of the world's oil production."

To support his optimism he also pointed to the experiences of other formerly communist countries in the Eastern bloc, where domestic oil consumption has fallen by one third since the changes of political system. Energy needs have decreased as a result of more efficient consumption and improved technology.

So Anders Aslund does not fear a new crisis like that in Estonia. However, it is possible that later this year the rest of the Baltic region and the states of the Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova could experience some oil shortages as a result of the fact that they will then have their own currencies and not the ruble.

National Bank Director Interviewed on Reform

LD3101032992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Interview with Russian National Bank chairman Vladimir Aleksandrovich Stepanov by correspondent Aleksandr Zhetvin; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Stepanov] Finances are always the raw nerve, so to speak, of any activity, by which I mean economic activity of a society. Within that, a particular key element is connected with monetary reform because this affects not only finance in general and its structures and organizations but the entire population and every part of society. This matter is perhaps the most painful of all for us, particularly in our current situation.

In our opinion, the opinion of our bank, a great deal could have been done differently and a great deal still could be done differently.

[Zhetvin] But, in your opinion as a financier, what needs to be done to stabilize the ruble?

[Stepanov] To date, the sluggish progress of privatization is fundamentally undermining the state of the ruble. In other words, if we had stayed on course regarding the promises given by the Russian government within the framework of the privatization program—that all transactions in our country would be via the ruble and that the ruble would be the only means of making payments throughout Russian territory in dealing with specific issues, including those linked to privatization, investments and a number of other things—the value of the ruble, because of this formula, could only have risen, not dropped.

In my opinion today the only way, the only recipe, so to speak, that can be suggested in the broadest possible terms, is to accelerate movement toward a market economy with properly considered social guarantees, a well thought-out system of economic incentives, as I have said before, for producers and a well-thought out system of taxation, which would enable the population

to be even more widely involved in the process of economic activity, whether through organizations, or firms that they start themselves, or as individuals thanks to the development of individual enterprise, something that is widely represented in Western countries.

[Zhetvin] You have spoken today about money reform. Will people actually lose anything?

[Stepanov] People will gain a genuine opportunity to acquire real goods, in a genuine and normal economic situation; a small selection of goods, maybe, but real goods. If there is an end to the hopeless situation that has, as they say, gripped our shops, then the reform is justified, reform, that is, which entails qualitative and tangible changes to our daily life. But if this means higher prices and more money in the hands of the population...

[Zhetvin, interrupting] Reform for its own sake, in other words.

[Stepanov] Reform for its own sake will not solve a thing. Absolutely not. Reform must not be seen in isolation from the other decisions and approaches from which our government must proceed. From those decisions, for example, that it must make. However, if, as a result of reform, people with savings in the savings banks really get the chance to find real goods for their money, at a certain ratio and to solve the real, specific problems of life, above all, of course, the problems of food, the reform will, undoubtedly, produce its first results. If, however, the population's savings are simply mechanically exchanged in any ratio, after which the result will be what we have in our shops today, after the first steps, the reform will not solve the problems and on the contrary will cause more disappointment and bitterness.

[Zhetvin] To be brief, what is most important is that there should be backing for the ruble?

[Stepanov] What is most important today is for real producers to have real incentives to produce an ever greater range and quantity of goods and, most importantly, of ever better quality, so the market belongs not to the producer, as it does today, but to the person selling the goods.

Government Aide Cited on Interstate Relations

PM3001170392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 2

[Stanislav Oganyan report under "In the Russian Government" rubric: "We Need a Free Economic Zone"]

[Text] The interdependence of the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], based as it is on the historically established division of labor, is an order of magnitude higher than is the case with other countries. Vladimir Mashits, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Economic Cooperation with CIS members, and a minister of the Russian Federation, said this at a meeting with journalists at the Russian Government's press center.

This is how he reacted to the widespread "narrow-minded" opinion that maybe it is better for Russia to start direct trade with foreign countries rather than getting involved in the agony of setting up of economic ties with the republics of the former USSR today. Foreign trade means a restricted range of goods, Mashits specified. Whereas interrepublic trade involves millions of types of goods. And there is no getting away from this.

Commenting on the tendency toward price excesses which is to be seen in the actions of certain members of the Commonwealth, Mashits stressed that Russia does not intend to pursue a policy of tough retaliation. Our task is to set up economic cooperation, not remove it. Those very same interruptions in the supply of fuel to the Baltic states, for instance, cannot be explained by a desire to punish a particular country for one reason or another, but by elementary nonregulation of mutually advantageous economic relations.

The new state committee, which was formed at the very end of last year, is called upon to coordinate the work of all Russian ministries and departments geared to cooperation in the economic sphere within the CIS framework. It includes all the territorial structures of the former Union that were involved in this within the framework of the previous structures—the State Planning Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Cabinet of Ministers.

The committee's tasks include drawing up protocols on bilateral relations, preparing specific agreements on multilateral cooperation, and, naturally, ensuring supervision of their implementation. Commenting on the treaty Russia signed with Belarus a few days ago, and the analogous one with Kazakhstan, Mashits noted that people are becoming aware that the continual prices spiral cannot go on for ever.

The main thing is to keep the ruble area. To create a free economic zone which must be unified. The minister noted that two groups of countries appear to have formed within the CIS. Some are in favor of preserving the ruble area. Others are not averse to resorting to other currencies too. This will determine the nature of relations with one or other group of countries.

Miners Bring Industry to 'Brink of Disaster'

PM3001145792 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jan 92 p 1

[M. Kotlukhuzhin report under "Alarming Reportage" rubric: "Magnitka Open-Hearth Furnaces Being Extinguished"]

[Text] Magnitogorsk—That is what we have come to... A foreman at Magnitogorsk's F. Pekhenko Finishing Plant,

speaking in the house newspaper, called on "all Magnitka's working people to declare an economic boycott of striking miners." He decided to urge this exceptional measure because, in his opinion, endless stoppages in miners' work have taken the metallurgical center's largest industrial enterprises to the brink of disaster.

Recently five of the 10 blast furnaces at Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, which has the largest capacity in the country, were shut down. Four of them are not working to this day. The reason for the current situation in the country's economy is most banal—a shortage of coke. The combine's coke-oven production unit, which can process up to 8 million tonnes of hard coal per year, is working at only 60-percent capacity. Coke batteries are operating at the slowest rate—just enough to avoid being completely shut down and extinguished, insofar as a shutdown is tantamount to destroying and decommissioning these complex and very expensive heat engineering units.

For virtually the whole of January the daily delivery shortfall of coking coal totaled approximately 1,000 tonnes. And on particular days, as for example on 15 January, only one or two trains arrived at the coal platforms.

Open-hearth furnaces are also being put out after the blast furnaces. Today metal is being issued for only 20 out of 32 steel smelting units. It is clear that rolling mills are also idle, which is why dozens or even hundreds of consumers are suffering once again. At a neighboring finishing plant, for example, the third steel wire workshop has almost completely shut down now, while many of the other workshops are working at half capacity. Hundreds of highly skilled workers have been forced to take subsidiary jobs.

The Magnitogorsk metallurgists are convinced that the miners are "cutting their nose off to spite their face." After all, right now some mines are experiencing serious difficulties because deliveries of equipment and spare parts have been stopped. And where will they get them, if the production of metal products is falling rapidly? Very soon the miners might not be able to go down to their coal faces because the Magnitogorsk finishers will stop delivering steel cables to them. And on top of this there is the call to declare an economic boycott of all striking miners.

Economic ties, given the concentration and monopolization of production which were specially broadened and deepened in all the years of Soviet power, were so broad and close that any severing of them is leading to a chain reaction of colossal losses throughout the former Soviet Union. And if labor collectives are now going to start acting from positions of ultimatums and strong pressure, the situation can only deteriorate.

Rural Leaders Comment on Harvest Prospects

PM3001143592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 92 p 2

[Reports by correspondents Konstantin Aksenov, Marlen Kryukov, and Viktor Pankratov followed by "Socioeconomic Problems Department" commentary: "Sugar Without Having To Wait in Line and at Affordable Prices. Is This Realistic? Yes, the Results of A Spot Check Show, If..."]

[Text] With all the talk about rising cost of food and meager supplies in the stores, we sometimes forget the one "to blame" for the shortages—the peasant. How is he living, what are his concerns? How does he think the situation can be remedied and the people fed when the process of becoming sovereign has wrecked the usual food supply routes and aggravated the shortage? Particularly with regard to sugar, vegetables, and vegetable oil.

Yet Russia, it would seem, is not short of such assets. Beet, sunflowers, grapes, vegetables, and even tea are produced on many of its territories, primarily in the south: the Kuban, the Don, and Stavropol. Are they prepared to supplement our menu with butter, sugar, and other produce?

On the eve of the spring sowing, PRAVDA's correspondents put that question to leaders of those regions. Here are their replies.

Planting Watermelons...

The Kuban is traditionally a grain-producing region. It produces around 4 million tonnes of grain and its gross production in the best years is close to 10 million tonnes.

"Last fall we planted over 1.5 million hectares of winter crops," A. Kuyemzhiyev, general director of the kray's Agriculture and Food Department, told our correspondent Konstantin Aksenov. "Over 500,000 hectares have been sold to private farmers. Should the areas sown to sunflowers and beet be expanded? That is hardly possible..."

The time to renew the existing structure of crops is mainly over, mind you. The blame for this lies not just with the kray organs. The Russian Ministry of Agriculture should regulate regional specialization. In any event until the market mechanism begins to work.

Thus the shortage of vegetable oil, sugar, and vegetables could worsen. Private farmers, of course, are beginning to cultivate sunflowers. This is one of the most profitable crops. But, specialists believe, preference will still be given to watermelons. Production costs are lower and profits are fabulous. The Russian Government could draw up measures to stimulate interest in increasing the production of these crops. For example, it could guarantee the cross sales of equipment, spares, fertilizers, and construction materials. But there must be no deception. And the terms must be stipulated immediately.

For Ourselves Alone...

The Don is not in debt to the Russians any more, V. Yermolenko, deputy chief of the oblast administration and general director of the Agriculture Department, said in conversation with our correspondent Marlen Kryukov. Last year, crop farmers coped fully with the state order and tax in kind. In valuable and strong strains of wheat, too. Last fall we sowed 1.9 million hectares. Spring crops will occupy at least 2.7 million hectares. That will require 260,000 tonnes of seed. We have them. In addition, over 90 percent are of first and second class sowing grade. Farms have been supplied with oil-yielding crops and grasses.

The preparation of equipment is in progress. Around 16 percent of tractors, 13 percent of seed drills and cultivators, and around 40 percent of combines, including 30 percent of the Don-1500 model, still need to be repaired. The machine operators will not let us down. Although it is not all down to their willingness or ability. There is a shortage of spares. Around 300,000 tonnes of mineral fertilizers are needed whereas we have little more than 100,000 tonnes. Prices for them are very high. They have increased fivefold recently. And after this outrageous behavior you then have to cut the value of agricultural output, too.

What other concerns are there? We must renew the cultivation of other profitable crops. Beet, for example. We have regions which can produce a good crop. We are planning to sow over 70,000 hectares of beet. We have an agreement with Krasnodar to process it. The plans include developing our own sugar industry.

Let the Politicians Think

The Stavropol region has an acute need of forage grain. Without it there will be no meat or milk.

"This cannot be tolerated any longer," A. Shiyanov, first deputy chief of the kray administration, told our correspondent Viktor Pankratov. "We are going to expand the areas sown to barley, corn, peas, soybeans, and oats."

Is the gross harvest of food grain not going to fall? Judging from past experience, no. Grain production has increased considerably even though in recent years the area sown to winter wheat has fallen by 180,000 hectares. A high standard of agrotechnical practices helped.

This is logical. But there is an alarming factor. Only 880,000 hectares of the area allocated to winter wheat will be cultivated by intensive techniques. Far less than in past years. The cost of mineral fertilizers and plant protection agents has risen sharply. Farms have reduced their purchases. The economy measure may result in a harvest shortfall.

"I know," Aleksandr Akimovich agreed. "But everyone is free to act as he thinks fit. That is economic autonomy for you. We will use commercial levers."

It cannot be said that the economic problems connected with the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] do not worry rural workers. But when deciding on crop planting structures they give their own interests priority. For example, they have never sown sugar beet in Budennovskiy, Ipatovskiy, Novoselitskiy, Sovetskiy, and several other rayons. But this year they are planning to do that. Sugar is a marketable commodity. The local supply can be improved from sugar beet plantations, the rest can be sold. What about global problems? Let the politicians solve them. The sugar beet sowing plan for Stavropol Kray was and remains around 20,000 hectares. Plantations are not only not increasing but are even contracting, taking the long-term figures as a basis. The sunflower picture is the same. Stavropol farmers are hoping to sow almost 178,000 hectares. Less than planned in the former USSR with its stable economic ties. People seem to think that it is still possible to redistribute food resources among the republics.

Socioeconomic Problems Department commentary:

There is at least one fact in these reports which provides comfort. The countryside, in defiance of political passions and upheavals and economic difficulties, continues dealing with its ordinary everyday business, which is so necessary to us all. The Don, Kuban, and Stavropol regions intend increasing grain production. Grain is paramount, as the saying goes. Furthermore, the cultivation technique is long established here. The anticipated profits, adjusted to take account of the "situation," have already been calculated.

The production of oil, sugar, vegetables, and fruit would not be a hindrance to grain. As the foregoing conversations make plain, people in the south are not promising great increases in crops. Today the peasant is free to decide for himself what is beneficial to sow and to whom to sell. Industrial crops, however, are labor intensive. If a plan is not "imposed" on people, who will voluntarily accept such a burden?

The situation should not be oversimplified, however. Sowing a little more beet and sunflowers in spring would present no special difficulties. They will appear in the fall when the raw material has to be processed. Processing capacities are needed. We do not have enough. Those that exist are often on the verge of collapse and were inherited from prerevolutionary oil and sugar refinery owners. Given our general state of chaos, the modernization of the food industry will take years, not months. These installations are in a state of neglect today, as are many others. Imported equipment is lying around and rusting without having been installed, and this is also true of the regions mentioned above. Therefore we cannot expect the good life to dawn in the immediate future.

The only point beyond comprehension is the Russian leaders' optimism that the supply situation will improve soon. Even if Russia's economic links are restored, the

other Commonwealth countries still have to get down to work in earnest right away, tackling the problems of the food industry.

Reactions Said 'Reserved' on Free Prices

LD3001184392 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] Despite the disappointment and dissatisfaction of the Russian citizens, their first reaction to the introduction of free prices earlier this month has been rather reserved. This came in the opinion of the Deputy Economics and Financial Minister of Russia, (?Andrey Nichayev), who said that the government had no information about the possibility of an outburst of social discontent in any of the regions because of the sharp rise in prices. He added that a special commission had been set up to make a rapid analysis of the situation. The government will use state food reserves if necessary. According to Andrey Nichayev things are expected to improve in a couple of weeks.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov for Increase in Parliamentary Power

OW3001213292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1841 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian Supreme Council Ruslan Khasbulatov has suggested that the upcoming congress of people's deputies in April discuss a final draft Constitution of the republic. "We are living virtually without Constitution," Ruslan Khasbulatov told the parliamentary staff Thursday [30 January] noting that the present Russian Constitution is the basic law of a republic entering the former Soviet Union, not of an independent state.

Khasbulatov said that one of the problems facing the Supreme Council and its apparatus is the creation of a legislative basis for economic reforms. He stressed that the Parliament "should seek the strengthening of the representative power" as actively as the executive power is seeking to increase its influence. "Those willing to undermine the representative power should be ousted from any post," Khasbulatov said.

Addressing the parliamentary staff First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council Sergey Philatov said the congress of People's deputies to be held in late April will also discuss the course of the economic reform, the development of the Northern territories, etc.

'Mutinous' Deputies Criticize Khasbulatov

LD3001220692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A group of Russian deputies, at a news conference today in Moscow, severely criticized Ruslan Khasbulatov. They accused the parliament's leader of populism, for it was Khasbulatov who issued the instruction for a parliamentary resolution to be drawn up on a procedure for regulating prices during the transition period of the economic reforms. By doing this the parliament is actively interfering in the government's actions on economic reform, Mikhail Dmitriyev, one of the mutinous deputies, considers.

Radical Democrats Criticize Parliament Leaders

OW3001155892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the parliament of the Russian Federation the faction of radical democrats has expressed concern in connection with the attempt of the parliament's leaders to gain endorsement for their draft resolution on regulating prices. The draft provides for cancelling or reducing value-added tax for a number of food-producing plants, for fixing profitability ceilings and for limiting the trading margin. Spokesmen for radical democrats told newsmen on Thursday [30 January] that the draft emerged because of the parliamentary leaders' desire to "score political points and win the voters' favor".

A leading member of the faction, Pyotr Filippov, believes that the draft is capable of frustrating the government's economic policy. According to him, the suggested measures will cut by one-third the revenues derived from the value-added tax.

Propose Shadow Cabinet Formation

LD3101031192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] Members of the Russian parliamentary faction, the Radical Democrats, have come out with the idea of setting up a shadow cabinet to speed up radical transformations. As a RIKA correspondent was told by the faction's coordinator, Sergey Yeshenkov, the shadow cabinet is something he sees as not so much a cabinet of positions as a kind of reserve created in order to prevent reform from going into a skid in the event of an extreme situation. The shadow cabinet's main task would be expert analysis of the economic situation in the country and appraisal of the government's actions.

'No Sense' in Balanced Budget Due To Deficits

PM3001111192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Demchenko under the general heading "Russian Budget: The Rules of the Game Are New and Tough...": "...But Not for Everyone"]

[Text] The Russian parliament's discussion of the Russian president's first budget message on the republic's first zero-deficit budget ended last week, producing virtually no results. As Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov put it, the budget has not been adopted, but the government has been given premission to spend an amount of 420 billion rubles in the first quarter of the current year.

At the same time, parliament instructed the executive power to significantly reduce the revenue part of the budget and increase the expenditure part, thus wrecking the fragile balance achieved with enormous difficulty by the government when preparing the draft document. Vice Premier Ye. Gaydar noted in his speech to the session that potential international aid to our country depends on IMF recommendations, one of the indispensable conditions being a zero-deficit state budget. In other words, the adoption of the draft in the form in which it was submitted to parliament is a kind of end in itself, irrespective of the contents of the document. This is indeed one case where the form is more important than content.

The vice premier's frankness would have scarcely shaken the deputies' composure, had they pondered in advance the sense of the document under discussion. While a single currency operates in all the republics of the former Soviet Union—whether members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] or not—and there is a common issuing bank and open borders, the struggle against the deficit of one individual state budget while all the rest are in deficit makes no sense whatsoever, apart from the moral satisfaction of the collective that wrote the document.

If the 14 states on whose territory the ruble operates do not live within their means, inflation will not be reduced no matter how thrifty the 15th may be. The opposite is actually more likely: The absence of a coordinated credit-finance and budgetary policy and the transfer of the single issuing bank common to the whole ruble area to the jurisdiction of Russia in effect removes all responsibility from the other states of the former Union for the pace of inflation, and enables their governments to spend funds on an absolutely arbitary basis. A situation has developed, whereby the population of the state which worries least of all about the ratio of expenditure to income is relatively better off, since it lives at the expense of those who, on the contrary, reduce their expenditure on social and other programs.

In this sense Russia's position is the most difficult, and its leadership will evidently have to make a final decision in the near future: Either to introduce its own currency after all, or to promptly sit around the negotiating table with the other states using the ruble, concluding treaties on banking union, a maximum permissible deficit for each budget, a credit policy—in short, everything that was contained in the failed Treaty on the Economic Community. Otherwise debates over the state budget can be consigned once and for all to the realm of "pure" art, having nothing in common with the prose of life.

Filatov Cited on Parliament Leaders' Talks

PM2701142192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Linkov report: "Commonwealth of Independent States Legislators Unite"]

[Text] On his return from Minsk, S. Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, held a briefing last 25 January on the results of the meeting of deputy parliamentary leaders. It was noted inter alia that it has become acutely necessary to coordinate the actions of the legislative organs of the countries that belong to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS].

It is planned that a council of parliament chairmen will be formed in the near future. It is proposed that at the sessions of this coordinating organ all questions will be resolved on the basis of consensus and not by ballot. The process of preparing the necessary materials must be carried out in interparliamentary commissions.

The proposal on the formation of interparliamentary assemblies of the European type was greeted with interest. Deputies' work must be carried out not on a permanent basis but depending on the topic under discussion.

An agreement was reached in Minsk about intergovernmental exchanges of documents, plans, and various information. Common telecommunications will be created for this purpose. During the talks it was recognized that there is a need to create a chamber or court of arbitration to resolve issues that arise.

Another thing that came to light was the urgent need to create common guarantees in the sphere of citizens' rights in questions of employment, housing, and the provision of pensions, since many USSR legislative acts in these spheres have been repealed because of the disintegration of the Union. All this needs to be settled. The overall results of the meeting can be considered positive, S. Filatov stressed. A meeting of leaders of CIS countries' parliaments is scheduled for the end of February.

Answering a question put to him by journalists on the problems of Crimea in Russian-Ukrainian relations, S. Filatov noted that in a conversation with his Ukrainian colleague, it was recognized that the given problem does exist and that it is now necessary to form a joint commission.

As for the postponed ratification of the Russian-Armenian treaty, S. Filatov noted that the Armenian side has reacted with understanding to what has happened and sees the need for further work on certain paragraphs.

Regional Affairs

N. Ossetia Alarmed Over New Ingush Republic

LD3101112992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] RIA reports that the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Presidium has addressed a statement to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The statement says: In the Russian parliament, a document is being prepared concerning the formation of an Ingush Republic, which will include part of the territory of North Ossetia. The organizers of this anticonstitutional act must know that it will inevitably lead to a large-scale war in the south of Russia. Expressing justified alarm, we are asking for clarification of the matter.

One of the reasons prompting the North Ossetian deputies to issue such a message is an inquiry to the appropriate services of the republic from Viktor Barannikov, general director of the Russian Federation's Federal Security Agency, about the possible consequences for the North Caucasus of the formation of an Ingush Republic inside the borders set in 1944.

Murmansk Sailors Threaten To Strike Over Rates

LD3001202892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Video report by correspondent A. Krutov from Murmansk, including recorded interview with S.A. Risho, chairman of the Murmansk shipyard strike committee center, on 30 January; from the "Novosti" newscast presented by Dmitriy Kisilev]

[Text] [Krutov] This fleet takes care of 70 percent of transportation in the Arctic. All year round ships of the shipping line supply the residents of small villages and towns of the north and the far east with food and various industrial cargo, without which life on the Arctic coast would be impossible. But today the sailors decided to go on strike, although the administration does not support this extreme measure.

[Risho] The main reason for the strike is that the RSFSR Ministry of Transport is delaying the start of talks on concluding a tripartite accord on rates with the Russian Trade Union of Sailors.

[Krutov] Perhaps you are putting forward impossible demands to the Russian Federation Government in your accord on rates?

[Risho] In order to understand whether the demands are impossible one should first go to the negotiating table. We are not demanding money or currency. We are merely demanding the right to dispose of our own means.

[Krutov] So, if the sailors do not get a reply from Moscow today, a major northern port will stop for 24 hours at noon on 1 February; ships will heave to and ship repair operations will be suspended.

Soviet Germans To Convene Congress 20 Mar

LD3001160992 Hamburg DPA in German 1446 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Germans in the former Soviet Union plan to convene an extraordinary congress in Moscow on 20 March. The central newspaper of the Germans reported today that this was decided by the executive of the "interstate Council of the Germans of the former Soviet Union" at a meeting on 23 January.

The paper also published a letter from the executive to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which again strongly criticized the latter for his remarks on the German issue in Saratov on the Volga. [passage omitted]

New Territory for Volga Germans Identified

PM2901115292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 92

["Novosti" newscast report by Ye. Orlov]

[Text] [Announcer] The problem of the Volga Germans threatens to become a stumbling block in Russian-German relations. In the past, in November, Germany received a promise to restore the German republic on the Volga. It planned 50 million [Deutsche] marks for urgent aid to the local population. As is well known, there are now about 5 million Russian Germans in all. Where to put them? Our correspondent has visited the region where, according to preliminary agreements, the German autonomous region should be located.

[Orlov] This territory, with an area of 133,000 hectares, recently received finished components of missiles. From here to the Volga is about 70-80 kilometers. The nearest railway station is half that distance away. At one time, before the testing range was created, people lived in this area. A well remains in the steppe, and the old trees, as well as a neglected orchard, have been preserved. For normal human life to return here, it is essential to bring to this region a water pipeline, electricity, gas, and hard-surfaced roads. Comfortable cottages must also be constructed. This will all require considerable expenditure—about 100 million rubles, according to preliminary calculations. The Volga Germans intend to collect some of this sum themselves. They hope to receive the remainder from the Russian and German governments. But there is one important element:

[A.I. Yegin, deputy chief of the oblast administration] The military say clearly that there are no tests of either chemical or nuclear weapons have been conducted here. But nonetheless in order to further convince us, the oblast nature committee will go out tomorrow to make analyses, all of which we will later publish in the press and make public on the radio and television. People have not lived here for 40 years now, but the inhabitants of the closest regions—Pallasovka and Bykovo—do not object to these places being settled.

Poll Notes Muscovites 'Doubt' Government

PM3001163792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "This Is What Muscovites Think"]

[Text] In the opinion of most Muscovites, the main causes of the present difficulties in implementing the economic reform in Russia are "the Russian Government's mistakes and miscalculations in carrying out the reform" (32 percent) and "the population's unpreparedness for the switch to market relations" (28 percent). These are the results of a telephone poll among 1,000 of the capital's residents conducted by the Moscow Sociological Agency and the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology.

At the same time 15 percent of Muscovites named "resistance from the former partyocracy at the center and in the provinces" as a cause of the difficulties.

Some 14 percent of those polled pin the blame for the slowdown of economic reforms on "the activities of mafia structures." Some 10 percent associate the causes of the present situation with "insufficient coordination of actions between the government and provincial authorities," and 9 percent with "insufficient agreement between the government and Supreme Soviet of Russia." Just 5 percent are inclined to regard the grave situation as "natural problems associated with the initial stage of implementing reforms."

The poll results also showed that 43 percent of the Muscovites polled "doubt the ability of the present Russian Government to extricate the republic from the crisis." Such doubts were voiced most frequently by employees of state establishments (52 percent) and by opponents of the policy of privatizing small and medium enterprises (52 percent).

Some 31 percent of the capital's residents still have faith in the Russian Government.

Tatarstan President Views Future With Russia

LD3001212992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1126 GMT 26 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] President of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaimiyev: The future of relations between Tatarstan and Russia lies in a union. Interviewed by the Tatar TV on January 25 Shaimiyev also said: Through negotiations, we should advance to a gradual implementation of Tatarstan's state sovereignty. Commenting on the results of the meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin held in Moscow on January 20 Shaimiyev stressed that each new visit to Moscow is marked by more understanding. Tatarstan sees the main aim of this visit in the talks on the intergovernmental agreement initialled by Yegor Gaydar and Prime Minister of Tatarstan Muhammad Sabirov on December 6, 1991. According to Shaimiyev, there have been more attempts lately on the part of certain commissions and deputy groups of the Russian Federation Supreme Council to revise the agreement. The Tatarstan leadership, however, has not allowed any cardinal deviations in questions of property and an independent economic activity. In his talk with Yeltsin the Tatarstan president insisted on the agreement being signed by the supreme leadership of Russia and Tatarstan, and now the process has got under way, Shaimiyev said. During the meeting with the Russian president Shaimiyev reiterated his determination and readiness to implement the decision by the Tatarstan Supreme Council on joining the Commonwealth of Independent States simultaneously giving paramount significance to the union with Russia. This union must allow them to redouble ethnic, cultural and economic links to the benefit of all the peoples of Russia and Tatarstan. Currently, the parliamentary delegations of Russia and Tatarstan are working in Moscow on settling the budget and tax policies, as well as elaborating the methods of mutual accounts. Tatarstan insists on a one-channel system of taxes. The budget system must also be overhauled.

Tatar Leaders React 'Stormily' to TV Report

LD3001114492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Video report by correspondent A. Nikolayev]

[Text] Recently the Russian "Vesti" program reported the Tatar national patriots' intention to dissolve parliament, arrest President Shaimiyev, and hand over all supreme authority to a Grand Majlis. The "Vesti" report produced a great impression on the Tatarstan leadership. The authorities reacted stormily.

(Faruk Mukhamedshin), parliamentary speaker in Tatarstan, accused "Vesti" of a lack of objectivity and distortion of reality. The republican mass media unleashed a campaign against Russian Television. However, Tatar President Mintimer Shaimiyev admitted that there were nevertheless grounds for the appearance of such reports. The chief Chekist [Cheka security officer] of the Republic of Tatarstan, (Kalimulin), has announced that the law enforcement bodies intend to bring charges in connection with speeches and publications by nationalist leaders.

(Marat Mulyukov), president of the Tatar public center, who always lends an attentive ear to the republic's leadership, has stated that a Grand Majlis will have to wait for a while.

Udmurtia May Produce Arms for World Market

PM3001152992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, TASS, URAL-AKTSENT "News" roundup: "If Weapons Are Bought, It Means Someone Needs Them"]

[Text] A regular session of the republic Supreme Soviet has opened in Udmurtia. The question of conversion is on its agenda.

A group of specialists and businessmen headed by Mikhail Maley, Russian state counsellor on conversion, has worked here for three days. The group has elaborated a concept to extricate the republic from the crisis. It is well known that Udmurtia is a major center for the military-industrial complex. As Boris Yeltsin recently acknowledged, Udmurtia is capable of earning money itself. For this it needs to abandon the practice whereby specialists in military equipment are forced to produce consumer goods. Let them make weapons fit for the world market and sell them for foreign currency. The republic government, enterprise leaders, and businessmen have approved the proposed idea. If it is adopted by the body of deputies, specific implementation of the program will start.

Kuban Government Resigns Over Economic Woes

PM3101092592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 1

[Correspondent S. Shipunova report: "Incapable: The Kuban Government Has Resigned"]

[Text] Krasnodar—The Kuban Government's resignation was announced on 28 January by its chairman, Nikolay Yegorov, who was appointed to the post 27 August 1991. After five months it had become clear to Yegorov himself and his entourage, as he himself admitted, that "many members of the present kray government proved incapable of pursuing a new economic policy."

At the news conference where the resignation statement was announced, N. Yegorov refused to answer journalists' questions, but Yu. Artyukh, kray state secretary, who commented on this event, suggested that the resignation was not the result of disagreements between the kray administration and the government but, on the contrary, was a considered and coordinated political step. At the same time, the state secretary denied that there was a link between the government's resignation and recent events, especially the pickets organized by Cossacks and trade unions in the Kuban.

This was a bold declaration. It is clearly meant to imply that the authorities are indifferent to demonstrations of discontent by the population. But that is hardly the case. This preemptive move was made precisely in an atmosphere of an increasing lack of confidence in the administration and the government, as well as on the eve of the next session of the kray soviet. The victim was the government, which till recently tried so strenuously to prove its competence to us but which has now been declared incompetent.

People in Krasnodar are voicing reasonable suggestions that subsequent events will develop according to the "Moscow scenario." Yesterday we learned about the statement by V. Dyakonov, head of the kray administration, which speaks of his decision to "form and head the new government of the kray" himself.

But what is the real result of this decision? First, it offers an opportunity to "effectively" replace certain heads of departments. Second, it will temporarily quell the passions of people on the street who virtually every week stand in front of Government House demanding the government's resignation. Third, it will gain some time, because the new "cabinet" will again have to get its bearings, to investigate matters, and so forth.

Nevertheless, the very fact of the government's resignation is the first official admission by the Kuban democrats who are in power of their inability to extricate the kray's economy from crisis.

Chechen Ministers Named; Gamsakhurdia Noted

LD2901234392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] The parliament of the Chechen Republic continued putting together the cabinet of ministers on 29 January. Our correspondent in Groznyy, Ruslan Nashkhoyev, has the details.

[Nashkhoyev] Candidatures for the posts of minister of health and education and for chairman of the State Committee for Sport and Tourism were discussed. As a result of a secret ballot of members of parliament, (Magomed Kadiyev) was elected minister of health, and (Ruslan Badalov), a world and European prize-winner several times, was elected chairman of the state committee for sport and tourism. They both worked in the same posts in the past. The candidature of (Sultan Novtsayev) was rejected by a majority of votes.

It is interesting that parliament has begun to introduce a new ritual. After his election, each minister or state committee chairman swears by the Koran here in parliament, in the presence of clergymen, an oath of loyalty to his people, the president, and parliament; speaks about liberty and democracy; and pledges not to take bribes but to be honorable in every respect. If I break this oath, the deputies say, may I be cursed by Allah and the people. Shamil Beno, the foreign minister; (Malladi Udogov), the chairman of the state committee for the press and

information; and (Talkhan Khuzhayev), chief of the archives directorate, who were elected earlier, have been through this ritual.

At the end of the parliament's work, I asked several members of parliament the very same question: Is it true that Gamsakhurdia and his family are in Groznyy or within the borders of Chechnya? Khusain Akhmadov, the chairman of parliament, asserts that he has no information that the president of Georgia or his relatives are in Chechnya. (Mate Tsakashvili), a parliamentary deputy representing Chechens living in Georgia, who personally knows Gamsakhurdia well, also denies that Zviad Konstantinovich is in the city of Groznyy or in any rural district of Chechnya. Among the people, however, the rumor that Gamsakhurdia has arrived in Groznyy or in Chechnya is not dying down.

Stavropolye Kray CPSU Secretary Resigns

LD3001234692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Report by station Stavropolye correspondent Valeriy Kuts]

[Text] Ivan Sergeyevich Boldyrev, the last first secretary of the kray CPSU Committee, has joined the political scrapheap in Stavropolye. He occupied the make-believe post of chairman of the kray soviet of People's Deputies. His departure follows a few weeks after the resignation of USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, whose friend and protege he was since the times of joint Komsomol work. Democrats and conservatives alike waited for the session which should have seen the resignation of this unswerving Gorbachevite with bated breath. But, alas, it was not to be.

So many swords have been blunted in the battles to carry democratic reforms through in Stavropolye, reforms Ivan Boldyrev fiercely opposed. He and his team almost managed to frustrate the referendum on the question of whether Russia ought to have a president, something which it is now laughable to doubt. However, there was no sensation at the kray session, just as there was no Ivan Sergeyevich Boldyrev himself, who asked to be released from his post in absentia because of his state of health.

There were persistent lobby whispers at the session that Khasbulatov gave friendly—in inverted commas—advice to Boldyrev not to bring matters to a head and to leave his high post voluntarily.

Yuriy Goncharenko, a former Party worker and head of Pyatigorsk Administration, is now the head of Soviet power in Stavropolye. You may ask why it was precisely Goncharenko who was elected chairman of the kray soviet. It is simply that he has gained a reputation of being a competent and irreproachably honest politician. His credo is to work hand in hand with the administration of the kray. Well, we will see.

Tyumen Seminar Explores Oil, Gas Investment

PM3001113592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Vladimir Yefimov report: "Money for Tyumen Only"]

[Text] Tyumen—That, it seems, is the opinion of participants in the international seminar on investment in Western Siberia's oil and gas complex, currently being held in Tyumen.

In the opinion of prestigious U.S. business and financial circles, only Tyumen Oblast is realistically capable of changing the economic position in Russia. This view is based on the fact that, thanks to the presence of rich sources of energy and natural minerals, Tyumen could guarantee considerable amounts of investment. This is why a U.S. oil company, which works in various parts of the world, has serious plans to put capital into Russia.

Given this interest, the U.S. Department of Energy and the Tyumen Oblast Administration invited leaders of major oil companies and representatives of other interested firms and financial and business circles to the capital of the oil and gas complex. The result the organizers are counting on is to reach mutual understanding on both sides so as to ensure that cooperation does not turn—as Oblast Administration Head Yuriy Shafranik put it—into a tug-of-war. Moreover, he gave an assurance that he would ensure equal rights for both domestic and foreign partners.

Vladimir Lopukhin, Russian minister of fuel and power generation, who attended the opening of the seminar, reported that the necessary legislative base for the oil and gas complex would be created in the very near future. The ministry has set up an investment fund headed by Mikhail Khodorkovskiy, the well-known banker.

Obviously, the Americans have a vested interest in reducing their dependence on the Near East. That is why they are rushing to Russia. They realize that it is important to do this right now, before their West European competitors change their minds. Judging by everything, the Americans are not frightened off by the instability of our laws, and they are inclined to view the situation as a transitional period on the way to a civilized market.

"I have no doubt that we will encounter competitors from other countries in a hurry to break in to your market. These are natural processes," said George Helland, deputy secretary for export assistance at the U.S. Department of the Energy. "However, the technology at our disposal is the world's best. So do business with us."

"I am an American but I live in Siberia," Jeffrey Evans, president of the Invest company, chipped in. "I have seen for myself that investments in your enterprises produce remarkable results. The Tyumen seminar is a good incentive for us and shows yet again that the work here should not be stopped under any circumstances."

It looks as though the period of mistrust, which the West felt for us for so long, is over. But let us be realistic—there is some way to go to a happy ending.

Komi Oilmen Demand End to Fixed Prices

PM2901111192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 92

["Vesti" newscast report by O. Sergeyeva and T. Zengosteva from Syktyvkar]

[Text] [Sergeyeva] Komi Republic oil workers have sent a message to President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian Government in which they demand that fixed prices for oil be abolished and the state order for oil reduced. For the sake of comparison, a tonne of oil costs 350 rubles today, which is only half as much as a tonne of mineral water.

Without consulting Komi-Neft, one of the biggest oil-producing associations in Europe, the Russian Government increased the formerly agreed volume of the state order by more than 1 million tonnes, thus reducing the association to the status of a permanent debtor. As a result of this, oil workers will not be able to supply the [Komi] Republic with the raw materials it needs to purchase food and essential goods. This decision also precludes oil exports, which means that purchases of technological equipment necessary for oil extraction and processing will have to be curtailed.

The oil workers are demanding that the government adopt decisions on all the raised questions without delay—that is by 1 February. Otherwise oil deliveries to refineries in the states of the commonwealth will be reduced.

Krasnodar Trade Unions Protest Price Increases

PM2901102992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jan 92 p 1

[Correspondent S. Shipunova report: "People Should Not Have To Live in Poverty: Kuban Trade Unions Hold Protest Action Against Price Rises and Lack of Social Protection for Working People"]

[Text] Krasnodar—The rampant rise in prices is perhaps being felt more painfully in Kuban than in other regions. First, there has always been a relative sufficiency of food here, and people were not accustomed to restricting their food consumption. Second, the kray's previous, "preputsch" leadership maintained low prices on one of the main foodstuffs—milk and derived products—as long as they could through kray budget subsidy. People were also used to this and considered it natural that a kray which produces such a quantity of agricultural output should not live in poverty.

But now fertile Kuban has been effectively reduced to the same level as starving oblasts in the central belt and industrial regions that lack their own agriculture. In a kray that annually harvests around 10 million tonnes of grain, a white loaf today costs 6.80 rubles.

It is difficult to get used to such a turn of events. It is difficult to grasp that this is the way it must be (and republic and local leaders assure us that this is the case). Finally, it is difficult to expect people to remain a passive, inert mass.

Now we have the first serious action, one organized by the Kuban trade unions. Yesterday they addressed an open letter to the kray administration and demanded social protection measures for the population, coordinated with the trade unions. The letter also demands an end to the policy of ignoring trade unions and making groundless charges and even issuing insults against them, which have often been present in kray leaders' speeches of late.

Several thousand people responded to the trade unions' appeal and turned up at the "White House" on Krasnodar's Krasnaya Street, where the kray's administration and government are located. For several minutes the square chanted in unison "Resign!"

The point is that the stance adopted by the local authorities since 2 January has bewildered many people. It is essentially the stance of detached observers who are deliberately distancing themselves from events. "The market is taking shape spontaneously; we cannot and will not influence either prices or the actions of producers"—that roughly is the explanation proferred by the kray leadership. This does not suit people. "If you are managing nothing and can influence nothing, why are you needed then?"—is the reasonable question that is asked.

Another typical tendency: Without acknowledging the people's right to such natural indignation in today's conditions and the right to the spontaneous expression of protest (which we will still clearly have frequent occasion to encounter), they state that former party officials "are stirring up" people..., and none other than the communists, "who are raising their heads again," are inciting people against the government.

The stance may be convenient, but is is futile: People are thoroughly sick of references to "former" officials. During the five months the deputies have been in power, the situation has gone to wrack and ruin, and people will be calling them to account—you cannot back out once you have started.

Nevertheless, the package of trade union demands was accepted. This includes the following demands: Enactment of the RSFSR law indexing the population's income and savings to the increase in prices; strict state monitoring of regulated prices; speeding up of compensation payments to pensioners and the reduction of catering prices for students and pupils through kray budget subsidies; and increased wages for workers in public education, health care, culture, and so on.

Yes, the authorities have to get used to the fact that not only will the market develop in our country according to Western models, but working people in conjunction with their trade unions will now be fighting for their own rights and interests with increasing vigor.

Karachayevo Election Campaign Blocked

LD2801233492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] The elections of people's deputies of Karachayevo-Cherkessiya were to have taken place today, however the election campaign was blocked and could not start. The reason for this is that many Karachayevo people regarded the act of imparting republican status to the former Karachayevo-Cherkessiya Autonomous Oblast and the decision on the elections as being at variance with the law on the rehabilitation of repressed people previously adopted in Russia.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Demands Fleet Commander Resign

OW3101113892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent learned from the headquarters of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Navy, the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk sent a cable to the commander-in-chief of the CIS armed forces Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, demanding that the Black Sea Fleet commander Admiral Igor Kasatonov resign. According to Kravchuk, Kasatonov hinders the endeavours to explain to the Fleet's personnel the Ukrainian leaders' policy aimed at ensuring social security for the sailors.

According to reports reaching the Navy's headquarters, lately groups of Ukrainian MPs [members of parliament] have been visiting Black Sea Fleet units increasingly often to induce the personnel to pledge loyalty to Ukraine. One such group visited the Fleet's headquarters in Sevastopol on Thursday [30 January]. In this connection Admiral Kasatonov instructed ships and units to deny access to the agitators. Commanding officers who consented to pledge loyalty to Ukraine get demoted. The Fleet's commander believes that it's inadmissible to have sailors who took different oaths serving in the same unit. He expressed this view in a cable sent to the Ukrainian defence minister Col.-General Konstantin Morozov. The Ukrainian leadership reacted with the demand that he resign.

Kravchuk Comments on Relations Within CIS

MK3001150092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ukrainian President L.M. Kravchuk by Vitaliy Portnikov; date and place not given: "'Then We'll Say: There Is a Mighty Ukraine.' Leonid Kravchuk With a Candle at the End of the Tunnel"]

[Text] [Portnikov] Leonid Makarovich, the first 100 days of your presidency have passed. I would first like to ask you what you associate with this initial period and how you see the country you have been elected to lead.

[Kravchuk] If the people elect a president, they above all entrust him with defending their interests. The people must be content and believe that the president will do his duty. And the people's will today is to form an independent state. It is the most terrible thing imaginable for a man to betray a people who have agonized to secure this right throughout their history. That is why I will endeavor to do everything to defend their interests and their future. We can then say—albeit in six months—that we have not merely an independent Ukraine, but an independent, strong Ukraine, which will have its own armed forces, institutions of authority, and laws to meet the people's needs. Then we will say that there is a powerful, strong Ukraine. It will not be economically all that strong or rich—that will take time. But this is the main thing now.

A very interesting situation has taken shape in our country as a whole. The old structures have vanished: However we criticized them, and we did so with good cause, and however we criticized the old unitarian, state-party ideology—they did exist. Now let me look at our state now. We have a Cabinet of Ministers. Who is tackling problems of ideology? No one. We have a Supreme Soviet. Who is tackling problems of ideology? No one. What about a presidential structure... We do not have a philosophy and ideology for the new Ukraine. We want to develop a new, independent, democratic Ukraine, that is true. But we do not have a modern philosophy, one that calls up our roots and our traditions. Rukh has now taken on the problem of ideology. The congress of Ukrainians, the forum of peoples of the Ukraine in Odessa, and Ukrainians' gathering together and unity are all elements of ideology. Admittedly, they do not have a broad philosophical base because no one has as yet thought about that in earnest. We must create an ideological base for the new Ukraine. Then things will be easier for us, then we will be able to create the appropriate structures, guided by this philosophy.

I think all the time: Well, we have gotten state levers. I can sincerely say that we have no experience behind us. There are no great state structures because the Ukraine was in someone else's hands all the time. Our government and ministers worked within the bounds of their own jurisdiction [kompetentsiya], which extended to 5 percent of the real estate and involved carrying out the Kremlin's orders. The better it did this, the further it advanced. If it did not carry out orders, it went backward. That is why we must learn state leadership of the new Ukraine and state thinking. When someone goes ahead and plows you a furrow, you look for that furrow. But when you yourself have to do it, that is quite another matter. I may be more conscious of this than anyone else because I come to work every day and encounter this every day. I am not saying that everything is fine for Yeltsin, but the structures that he took on—whatever they were—have attained an international level while the former structures in Kiev never went anywhere. Moscow was the highest level that they had to deal with. They did not know a thing about Paris. Yet now we need to deal with other states and we have a totally different range of decisions to make on a totally different scale. Therefore, we need people to whom we can entrust the Ukraine—committed, competent people.

[Portnikov] One of the problems of Ukrainian statehood may be differences of mentality between the inhabitants of different regions of the republic...

[Kravchuk] This is rooted in our history. I know western Ukraine: I worked there and I was born in those districts. The constant hints that there is a Ukraine and a "semi-Ukraine" have generated in people's minds such a desire

for independence that it is hard to even imagine. I remember my first trip to Lvov. I dropped in at the "Elektron" plant. Things were very hard then, the stores were totally empty. Before that I had driven around several regions and, wherever I went, people spoke to me about that. So I was already geared to thinking that they would ask me about it. I went through one workshop, then another, and no one said anything. Then I myself appealed to people and they replied: That is not the most important thing for us. The most important thing is independence, that is the light at the end of the tunnel. I thought: What strength of will people have—not party leaders who have lived for this and spent time in jail for it, but the working man.

The main point in this was: here we have the Ukraine, here we have its strength, might, and unity, and here we have multiethnic collectives. At first people did not have such a powerful desire for freedom. My wife is from Sumy Oblast and if you go to a village there, their ideas are not quite as crystallized as they are in the west. People say: Certainly we need independence, but we must be together, within the Union. You will not hear this any more in the west. Although I agree that we must not split up, but live on equal terms.

[Portnikov] Many people are now talking about the Ukraine's place in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], but virtually no European policy is being elaborated for the country or its priorities...

[Kravchuk] The Ukraine as a European state has set itself the goal of integrating into European structures. We only say that we do not want to join any blocs. We are a nuclear-free, extrabloc, permanent, neutral state and that is our fundamental policy. We also say that, while integrating, we do not consider it necessary to destroy our ties with the states of the former Union. Our common structures have been built here; our common life is here. But it was based on monopoly. Russia, for instance, has a monopoly on oil, gas, and timber. We do not bear Russia a grudge for that; we just say that it will not be able to provide all the other republics with these products, even if it wanted to do so. The reason why we do not have enough of some things is not that Yeltsin is a bad man. Production has dropped sharply and these regions are already controlled by unknown people. If we continue to pursue the policy of gearing ourselves solely to Russia, at any moment someone—and times here are so revolutionary at the moment that any president may close the pipes at any moment—may be deprived of gas and oil. We will try to obtain these things and we are already working with Iran and other countries now. It is normal for us to seek reserves, and markets are not confined to a single region.

[Portnikov] You have already spoken of differences between the structures in Moscow and Kiev. Yeltsin has a team effecting economic reforms today. Where is the Ukraine's team? Or will it depend on Russian reforms?

[Kravchuk] We are not repeating and will never repeat Russian reforms. Our independence from Russia marks our indepedence from the ruble. The ruble space and the fact that we are tied to monopoly sources of raw materials force us to follow Russia. But we will take the path that we have chosen. We have people who will be able to do this. We will not say that they can effect another revolution. This will be calm, well-considered, well thought-out work. We do not want to overextend ourselves. A person in the public eye is not entitled to do that. He is so visible if he does do something.

[Portnikov] I think that there are many misunderstandings in Russian-Ukrainian relations due to the fact that Moscow does not notice that the Ukraine has indeed become independent...

[Kravchuk] Yes, undoubtedly.

[Portnikov] Yet people in Kiev do not take this lack of comprehension into consideration...

[Kravchuk] No, we are aware of that. I never tire of constantly repeating the same thing at sessions. As soon as Nazarbayev submits a proposal to set up some kind of common committee, I remind him that we represent a state, but our community is not a state. I tell Boris Nikolayevich and he listens. But it is not just a question of one man: There is his whole entourage. The mentality of the Russian leadership does not come from above but from them. I see them sitting at the table, I see them go up to him and say: Let us have the Andreyevskiy flag and so on and so forth [i to i drugoye]... I am not accusing anyone, but I think that if people were buzzing around me like flies saying that this and that was necessary, I would possibly be the same way because people are telling you eight hours a day that you are a great person and must take charge. Take the problem of the unified armed forces, for instance. That is not a technical but a political problem. Let us think of its possible consequences. Eleven states and unified armed forces. Which state leader will control them? Tell me, who?

[Portnikov] The president of the largest state?

[Kravchuk] Why? We will not instruct him to do that. I, for instance, would vote against it.

[Portnikov] What about a committee, then, like the Yugoslav presidency.

[Kravchuk] Fine, fine. Let me tell you one thing then. If the armed forces are unified and there are 11 civilian bosses, the troops listen to one man. Then—like it or not—a military man, a commander in chief, will rise above all 11 republics. The armed forces will rise above politics. That is sure to happen. Armed forces and democracy are incompatible. Not because they are bad. A general cannot be a democrat owing to the logic of his post. Unified armed forces herald the end of democracy, the end of independence. Not because Shaposhnikov is

bad. Logic is superior to different people's wishes. And if this military flywheel clashes with the logic of life, we are doomed.

To whom are our troops to swear loyalty? Why spend all your time drumming into a Russian the notion that he is to swear an oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people? The Ukrainian people include another 12 million Russians. Yet he is told: No, swear loyalty to those Russians living in Rostov. Why should he swear loyalty to the Russians of Rostov and not those in Donetsk? They do not say that; they deliberately egg people on, fueling the question of nationality with comments like: You are a stranger here...

[Portnikov] You accuse Moscow Television of that kind of propaganda, but can it really be independent not just of its own government, but of the thinking of journalists living in Russia?

[Kravchuk] I do not accuse it of that, but I do say something else. There are 56 hours of broadcasting per week. Divide 56 by 11 and you get six hours per state. I say: Give the Ukraine four hours a week. We will make the programs ourselves. We will convey our views there without cuts in our programs. But they don't want that. They want one independent person, as you say, to carry out one person's will. Yet I say, if this is a commonwealth, I must have my four hours and I will say what I want. That is my right. No Yakovlev [head of Moscow Television] can edit me.

[Portnikov] Do you see a future for the Ukraine within the CIS?

[Kravchuk] We have gotten accustomed to living with a center—to some extent Russia was decided as the center. Russians have mentally gotten accustomed to everything else being part of Russia. Today they cannot surmount that barrier and are still acting as if this center still exists. We must tell them firmly and definitely that an independent Ukraine exists, an equal, full-fledged state that decides its policy itself and can only live in friendship with others on these principles. It cannot do so on other principles. We say this publicly and at the negotiating table. Hard as this may be, we have said that the problems of the Black Sea Fleet must be resolved. They did not want that. They wanted the Andreyevskiy flag hoisted right away. We said no.... They agreed with us. So, we will gradually teach this great power that everyone is identical—small and great—and that there are no seniors and juniors, large and small. Everyone is equal. When everyone realizes that, we will start to live in harmony. I do not want people to conclude on the basis of any small or even large conflicts that this is the beginning of the end. A very difficult process is under way.

I have said officially and on television that, if we are equal, if we respect one another, if they do not encroach on our independence, and if no one aspires to diktat, no one considers us part of their territory or their people, the Commonwealth will exist. If they do not realize that, the Commonwealth will not be able to be strong. I hope nonetheless that life will make them realize it. If not, life will force us to take a different path. The Ukraine will not renounce its independence, just like Moldova, Belarus, and the other republics because this constitutes the objective process of mankind's development. Not because some people want it. This is the people's common desire. Anyone who tries to stop it is destined to fail: The people will achieve it sooner or later. I would like this to occur without bloodshed, peacefully, and democratically, so that everyone is aware of this and does not create difficult situations where they do not exist. Ambitions cannot be placed above democracy.

[Portnikov] I would like finally to diverge from politics. What do you remember when you manage to relax from all these battles, talks, and sessions....

[Kravchuk] I had a difficult childhood. It was 1939 and reunification was under way. I remember the Soviet troops coming in. I remember collectivization in our village, the livestock being taken away and people crying, not wanting this to happen. Then they were evacuated "to live with the polar bears," as they said then. Then came the war. This also took place before my very eyes. Rovno was bombed, our village was bombed. We hid, first one set of troops came, then another. There were executions in the church, which I witnessed. I was made to watch them kill Jews—the Hitlerites rounded everyone up to see this to make them afraid and see how they hanged people. I cannot even tell you how many lives were lost before my eyes. I saw the blood and the agony. I cannot convey it. My childhood memories have all this imprinted on them. Now when I am sick and have a fever, I dream of all these dreadful times again and shudder.... When the war ended we only learned of it in June when news reached our village. And I remember my uncle—my father died on the front—flew into the yard on his horse, his pride and joy, and said: The war is over. Everyone wept and I could not understand why. I was so happy then! That is my most vivid childhood memory—the end of the war. I thought that the sun would shine differently and people would somehow be different.

Kravchuk on Italian, Russian Relations

PM3101093492 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 28 Jan 92 p 15

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by Ennio Franceschini; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Kiev—[passage omitted] [Franceschini] Mr. President, let us start with Ukrainian-Italian relations. What will you tell Foreign Minister De Michelis, who arrives in Kiev tomorrow?

[Kravchuk] I will tell him that we want to develop our diplomatic relations in order to establish a treaty between the Ukraine and Italy. I will ask him for Italy's support for the Ukraine's accession to the international financial and economic structures. Last, I will ask that Italy invest private capital in the Ukraine. You have a

very high standard of production and we are a new market, so there are great opportunities for everyone.

[Franceschini] History books say that a thousand years ago the ancient Kievan Rus was the "cradle" of Russia. Are you not afraid of going down in history as the man who split a common culture?

[Kravchuk] Yes, the books do say that, but the fact is that Kiev was never the "cradle" of the Russian state; it was the cradle of Kievan Rus, which is something different. Many changes have occurred since then. Now we do not want a split with Russia; we have harmonious relations and we do not want to weaken them. What we do not accept are diktats. Yeltsin has recently adopted a more balanced stance in this regard. When our relations stabilize, then the historical, human, and cultural ties between our states will be strengthened. There will be problems, but they will be resolved around a table, peacefully.

[Franceschini] In 1954 Khrushchev transferred Crimea from Russia to the Ukraine to mark the friendship between Russians and Ukrainians. Now the Russian Parliament is calling the whole thing into question.

[Kravchuk] You cited Kievan Rus: Well, if we take this path, then the Ukraine should reclaim as part of the old Kievan Rus such cities as Novgorod and Pskov and the Kuban region, which Stalin wrested from the Ukraine and gave to Russia. But that would be absurd. There is a treaty in which Russia and the Ukraine state that they have no mutual territorial claims. Yes, Crimea was transferred by Khrushchev, but that was not the act of a single man. The decision was approved by the Russian Federation, by the Ukraine, and then by the USSR parliament. There are legal foundations, and to call them into question would mean opening up much wider territorial problems. We would be entering a blind alley, approaching a conflict. But it is difficult to imagine that there could be any serious border disputes between Russians and Ukrainians, who have lived together for 350 years.

[Franceschini] In the treaty on the Black Sea Fleet—contested by the Ukraine and the Commonwealth—you did not make any precise numerical demands. However, Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, says that 93 percent of the ships must remain with the Commonwealth...

[Kravchuk] I do not want to talk about percentages. It is Marshal Shaposhnikov who permits himself to do so, but I think that he acted rashly. A Russian-Ukrainian joint committee is at work and will decide how to divide the fleet. We must see how many ships the Ukraine needs to defend its maritime frontier. There are other issues. We are determined to eliminate nuclear weapons from the Black Sea by 1 July: Once the nuclear weapons have been removed, where will those ships go?

[Franceschini] Could the dispute over the fleet and Crimea turn into a military—even nuclear—conflict?

[Kravchuk] I am sure that this will not happen. Russians and Ukrainians can never fight one another. It would be like Italians fighting other Italians.

[Franceschini] Did Yeltsin consult you before announcing that the nuclear missiles deployed in Russia will no longer be targeted on America?

[Kravchuk] There is a special telephone on my desk that connects me instantly with Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, and Shushkevich (the presidents of the other republics where nuclear weapons are deployed—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note). None of us four can decide on our own to use the missiles, wherever they are deployed. But each state pursues its own policy autonomously. So Yeltsin did not consult me about the targeting of Russia's missiles. The missiles deployed in Russia can point wherever he wants; that is his business. But he cannot decide to use them on his own.

[Franceschini] Some people accuse you of having changed too quickly, of opportunism. Why did you not take a stand against the putschists immediately after the August coup d'etat?

[Kravchuk] There is a great deal of misinformation in these charges. A year before the coup the Ukrainian parliament, of which I was president, declared our republic's independence. Since that time events outside our borders have no direct impact on the Ukraine. On 19 August, the first day of the coup, I stated publicly that the decisions made by the putschist junta did not affect Ukraine and that we would reject any unconstitutional measures. Now they are contrasting me with Yeltsin and asking why I, too, did not man the barricades. But there were no barricades or tanks in Kiev. Against whom should I have demonstrated? If there had been a coup here, then I would have fought. But it was pointless for me to demonstrate against Yanayev (Soviet vice president and one of the putschists—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note).

[Franceschini] Will you ask to join the EEC? Or is your natural partner still the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], the former USSR?

[Kravchuk] The Ukraine will work on two fronts. We will not join any military bloc. But we will apply to join the Western economic and financial communities, because in them we must find new technologies, new market experiences, and some help, too. As for the EEC, I have already sent out some letters. If we are accepted we will join, while remaining within the CIS as well.

[Franceschini] What is the status of your relations with Yeltsin?

[Kravchuk] We always talk very frankly. In politics you cannot feel offended; otherwise it is very dangerous.

[Franceschini] What do you think of Gorbachev?

[Kravchuk] At the start of perestroyka I thought he could lead us to a new and better life. And objectively he has

done a great deal. His name will endure in history. But recently he vacillated between conservatives and democrats. He was no longer consistent, so ultimately he lost—though I am well aware that he was struggling against huge forces. Now Gorbachev cannot be expected to disappear from the political scene; I have no doubt that he will continue to make a contribution. And, above all, he must not be insulted.

[Kravchuk] In private, and even in some interviews, the leaders of Rukh, the Ukrainian nationalist people's front, claim to control Kravchuk....

[Kravchuk] I will never be controlled by anyone; this is definite. I will support Rukh as long as Rukh supports democracy and the path of calm and peaceful change. If, however, one of Rukh's wings supports another viewpoint and I hear of it, I will not follow them.

[Franceschini] Ukrainians are reputed to be very cunning. People in Kiev say that you are the most cunning Ukrainian of all. Is it true?

[Kravchuk] If that is what they say about me, perhaps they have their reasons. Here in the Ukraine people say: That fellow is "very cunning," whereas another fellow is "smart." But I think the two are connected. A stupid person can never be cunning. When it comes to the Ukraine's supreme interests I can be cunning. In such circumstances cunning is a merit. It is another matter if cunning is used to the people's detriment. But to defend the people it is necessary to use everything possible. Including cunning.

Diplomatic Ties Protocol Signed With Italy

LD2901210192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2001 GMT 29 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 29 Jan (TASS)—A protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and Italy was signed today during the official, one-day visit to the republic by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. He had discussions with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

Gianni de Michelis left Kiev this evening.

Fokin Urges Separate Payment of Union Debt

OW3001133492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin expressed his "concern" at the activities of the republics of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], in particular of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, on managing and servicing the foreign debt of the former Soviet Union. In an official appeal announced on Wednesday [29 January] by the Prime Minister "to world financial circles" he emphasizes that the activity of the Inter-state Council on observing the foreign debt of the former Union "in practice contradicts the treaty" on inheritance of the foreign debt. In conjunction with this he proposed to convene an international conference February 18-19 in Kiev of the creditors of the former Union, the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank. At this conference, Fokin believes, Ukrainian proposals would be considered, which make provisions for:

Ear-marking from the total sum of Soviet foreign debt in hard currency 16.37% (Ukraine's portion according to Article 3 of the treaty on inheritance of the foreign debt of the former Union from December 4, 1991);

Granting the National Bank of Ukraine and the Export-Import Bank of Ukraine the opportunities to immediately participate in financial operations on the world market in order to opportunely fulfill debt obligations and provide for the development of a market economy in Ukraine;

Acknowledgement and cooperation to realize Ukraine's right of ownership for 16.37% of all kinds of activities of the former USSR not only on its territory, but abroad as well, which will form the necessary guarantee that Ukraine fulfills its international financial obligations.

Vitold Fokin proposed a temporary measure to end Russia's right to the property of the former USSR abroad, until its practical division among the states-inheritors of the former Union. In his appeal, Fokin emphasized that Ukraine cannot "agree with the dictates of one country, no matter hoe great its potential."

Zlenko Expects Agreement With Czechoslovakia

LD2901144792 Prague CSTK in English 1350 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Kiev Jan 29 (CSTK correspondent)—Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko today told CSTK he hopes to sign in Czechoslovakia an agreement establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Zlenko spoke with CSTK before leaving for Prague to attend the 2nd session of the Foreign Ministers' Council of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe January 30-31.

CSCE membership for Ukraine and another nine republics of the former Soviet Union, including the Asian ones, was recommended on Tuesday [28 January] by the CSCE senior officials' committee. Admission of the new members is to be approved by the foreign ministers before they officially start their deliberations on Thursday [30 January].

Zlenko said Ukraine, whose declaration of independence was massively backed in a December 1, 1991, referendum, has been recognised by 91 states 28 of which have established diplomatic relations with it.

Czechoslovakia recognised the former Soviet republic on December 8, 1991.

Speaking about Subcarpathian Rus, Zlenko expressed satisfaction with "official representatives (of Czecho-Slovakia) not raising any (territorial) claims".

Ukraine adheres to the post-war agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, and to the Helsinki CSCE Final Act which provides for the inviolability of borders in Europe, Zlenko said.

Historically, Subcarpathian Rus was a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. It came under Czechoslovak administration in 1919. Under a 1945 Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty Subcarpathian Rus, Czechoslovakia's easternmost territory, was ceded to the Soviet Union and now is part of Ukraine.

Relations Established With Vietnam

LD2501043192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0240 GMT 25 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Denisovich]

[Text] Hanoi, 25 Jan (TASS)—A protocol establishing diplomatic relations between Vietnam and the Ukraine has been signed during the current visit to the Ukraine by Nguyen Duy Nien, special envoy of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The VNA news agency says that an official report on this matter states that Vietnam and the Republic of the Ukraine have agreed to exchange missions at the embassy level.

A joint communique establishing diplomatic relations between Vietnam and Uzbekistan was signed during Nguen Duy Nien's visit to Tashkent several days ago.

National Affairs

Supreme Soviet Rules on Land; Kravchuk Speaks

President on Cabinet Resignation

PM3001103392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Tsikora: "Ukrainian President Requests Extra Powers"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has changed the status of the national blue and yellow flag. Voting individually, the deputies approved it as the state flag of the Ukraine.

The adoption of this act will presumably end the inconvenience and psychological stress suffered by L. Kravchuk, who frankly admitted at the present Supreme Soviet session that he is the only president in the world of a state that does not have an official flag.

To get to the morning meeting the deputies had to pass through a row of pickets demanding the resignation of the government, the abolition of extortionate prices, and the transfer of the Black Sea Fleet to the Ukraine. The same demands were made by parliamentarians as soon as the session opened.

What was President L. Kravchuk's response? In a speech lasting more than an hour, he presented deputies with his vision of ways of getting out of the profound crisis the republic finds itself in. Admitting that the Cabinet of Ministers is ill-prepared for the solution of complex economic tasks, L. Kravchuk nonetheless said that it was undesirable that all its members should resign, that a government crisis should be created at a time of heightened social tension. I have no grounds for expressing a lack of confidence in Prime Minister V. Fokin, the president said. Instead of resignation, he suggested the reorganization of the cabinet.

The Ukrainain president asked the Supreme Soviet to grant him additional powers so that he could take such resolute action. In particular, the power to appoint the leaders of certain ministries and committees, as well as presidential representives in the provinces. These powers would operate until parliament adopts the new Ukrainian Constitution. L. Kravchuk said that the new leaders would be appointed democratically, taking into account the opinions of parliament and political parties and movements. Let us finally create a government of popular confidence, the Ukrainian president proposed.

L. Kravchuk also dwelt in detail on the question of military organizational development in the republic. He described as slanderous the desire of some former center staffers to portray the Ukraine today as a growing military monster. We are organizing our armed forces on the basis of legal republic acts and accords with the states of the CIS [Commonwealth of Indpendent States], the Ukrainian president stressed. He went on: "We are not encroaching on the interests of other states, but neither will we allow anyone to dictate any terms to us."

While going on to announce that over 350,000 servicemen had already taken the oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people, L. Kravchuk did not ignore the problem of the Black Sea Fleet. While describing it as very complex, the Ukrainian president nonetheless talked in a distinctly calm manner about the present state of the problem, which journalists interpreted as a very good sign.

This confidence was underlined when L. Kravchuk gave his assessment of the present state of relations with Russia. He stressed that the Ukraine will build its relations with the neighboring state while relying "on Russian democratic forces and President B. Yeltsin's constant statements about Russia's not having any territorial claims on the Ukraine."

L. Kravchuk did not overlook the delicate matter of visits to the Ukraine by "unscheduled" guests, which have become more frequent of late. He was referring to

certain Russian parliamentary deputies who recently took the liberty of visiting Crimea and making anti-Ukrainian statements there and calling for a new referendum to be held. The republic does not intend to tolerate such visits any longer. Henceforth all visits to the Ukraine by officials from a neighboring state will be approved in advance.

Rejects Plan on Income

LD3001183592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] Disagreements have emerged between the Ukrainian parliament and president for the first time since Kravchuk was elected. The Ukrainian parliament did not accept amendments proposed by the Cabinet of Ministers and the president on the indexation of personal incomes.

Passes Law on Land Ownership

LD3001162492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Private ownership of land is being introduced in the Ukraine. A law on this was adopted at a plenary session of the Supreme Soviet today. The document states that land in the Republic may be owned collectively, privately, and by the state.

Nationalists Want To Keep Nuclear Weapons

PM3001163192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[KHARKOV NOVOSTI report: "Nationalists Favor Nuclear Arms"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian National Assembly [Ukrainskaya natsionalnaya assembleya]—a small but active political grouping—has come out in favor of keeping tactical nuclear weapons.

According to the Ukrainian National Assembly, it will enable the Ukraine to save on conventional armaments. Assembly representatives went to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building bearing the slogan "Let Moscow Be the First To Disarm!"

Plans To Discharge Servicemen Causes Confusion

PM3001100992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jan 92 p 3

[Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "They Will Be Discharged, They Will Not Be Discharged... Who Will Clarify Matters?"]

[Text] Lvov—A report from the Ukrainian Alternative Information Center that the overwhelming majority of officers and warrant officers who swore oaths of allegiance to the Ukrainian people will shortly be discharged into the reserves has provoked not only gloom but bewilderment. Many people have telephoned the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents' office and asked: "Have they really decided to deceive us yet again? They made us swear the oath, and now they are going to discharge us?" So far, official organs have been keeping silent on this score. But nevertheless, there is no lack of commentaries on the subject.

For example, Colonel V. Martirosyan, chairman of the Committee for the Social Protection of Servicemen, unequivocally declared a few days ago that all district and army commanding officers and all division and regiment commanders who have not sworn the oath of allegiance will be discharged into the reserves. And how should one now understand the recent statement that no servicemen will be subjected to discrimination?

Taras Chornovil, deputy of the Lvov Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, also broached the military topic in a recent interview with Radio Liberty. In the opinion of the son of the oblast executive committee chairman, the Ukraine does not need such a large army. It should be significantly reduced—soldiers and sergeants discharged into the reserves should be given an opportunity to prove their worth in the business sphere, and officers and warrant officers should be removed from command. Reduced-strength units and subunits should be set up in the republic, in which only young officers and warrant officers will serve. Military institutions that turn out commanders of various combat specialities should, in his opinion, be closed altogether for three to four years. There you have it.

So who will clarify matters?

Union Urges Recall of Officers From Moscow

LD2601110192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] The Kiev city organization of the Union of Officers of Ukraine addressed Kostyantyn Morozov, minister of defence, with proposals to recall from Moscow a group of officers and generals, who are invited now to help the cause of formation of Ukraine's armed forces.

The Union of Officers has proposed the minister of defence of Ukraine to create his own group of experts and offered him service of officers members of the union. [sentence as heard]

Tank Army Troops Swear Allegiance to Ukraine

LD2501223192 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Armed Forces' servicemen are swearing allegiance to the Ukraine. Officers of the administration of the 6th Guards' Tank Army have sworn allegiance to the Ukraine. Here is a report by correspondent Oleksandr Tokar:

[Begin recording] [Tokar] This army has a glorious history. [passage omitted] We have talked for many years about the unity of the army and the people, but it is only now that we have the right to affirm that the unity of the Ukrainian people is possible only with the armed forces of the Ukraine, as is true for the Belarussian people with the Belarussian army and the Kyrghyz people with the Kyrghyz army. [passage omitted]

All who came for the ceremony swore allegiance to the people of the Ukraine. Lieutenant General Radetskyy, commander of the Army, sincerely and cordially greeted officers and generals as they took the oath and wished them success in the new service. Mykola Hryhorovych Sukhyy, deputy of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, presented to officers a tall and splendid Ukrainian palanytsya [type of cake]. [passage omitted]

I asked Lt. Gen. Radetskyy about his attitude to the decision of the officers' meeting in Moscow, and to the Ukraine-hating prattle from the former imperial center.

[Radetskyy] It is very difficult for me to give an unambiguous reply. The work that was conducted there does not give honor to the officers. There will be no more returning to the old ways. The Ukraine should have its own army, and it will. As for the talks that are being conducted in Moscow, I think that it is a preplanned spectacle.

[Tokar] Students of the Dnipropetrovsk higher command anti-aircraft school, the subunit of internal troops, have taken the oath of allegiance to our state. Those who are returning to their own independent states are being seen off cordially and fraternally by troops and commanders who thank them for their service. [end recording]

Poll Shows Green Party 'Most Influential'

LD2601161192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] According to a sociological poll conducted by the Council of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Free Enterprise of Ukraine, the most influential among the 11 largest parties in Ukraine is the Green Party. It is supported by 51 percent of those polled; 37 percent support the Democratic Party, 34 percent the People's Movement Rukh and 12 percent come out in favor of the Republican Party of Ukraine.

Veterans Appeal to Kravchuk for Assistance

LD2801164392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] The Soviet of Veterans of the Ukraine has called for ration cards to be introduced in the republic for essential goods. Its presidium has sent a letter to the Ukraine president describing the transfer to a rationed distribution system as one of the main conditions for the survival of the low-income groups of the population during the period of price liberalization.

Given the acute deterioration in pensioners' financial situation—and there are about 12 million pensioners in the republic—the presidium asked Leonid Kravchuk to speed up the enactment of the law on welfare protection for veterans; to bring minimum pensions up to the level of the minimum wage set in the republic; to maintain prices for amenities at their previous level, or halve them; to determine a network of shops where food produce can be purchased at the most accessible prices; to organize free canteens for the needy; and to lift taxes on veterans' cooperatives.

In their letter, the veterans also said they oppose the resignation of Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, and asked the president of the Ukraine to give him backing.

Crimean Tatars Appeal for Self-Determination

OW2901020892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An information working group of the National Movement of the Crimean Tatars addressed an appeal to the Ukrainian leadership and parliament in connection with the Russian Supreme Soviet ruling revising the 1954 act giving the Crimea to Ukraine.

The appeal says that attempts to shape the Crimea's destiny without offering restitution to the Crimean Tatar (they were deported from the Crimea in 1944 for having allegedly collaborated with the Nazis) were a continuation of the Stalinist policy.

The national Tatar movement demanded to be included in the decision-making process at all levels.

Peasants Party Founded at Kherson Conference

PM2901111592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 92 p 1

[Untitled PRAVDA-TASS report under the "Newsbeat" rubric]

[Text] At a founding conference held in Kherson, 217 delegates from 11 oblasts supported the creation of a new political organization—the Ukrainian Peasants Party. It is designed to systematically protect the interests of the republic's rural population. S. Dovgan, director of Berislavskiy Rayon's "Kosmos" Sovkhoz, was elected chairman of its council.

Belarus

Diplomatic Relations Established With Mongolia

LD3001233492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1034 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 24 Jan (TASS)—The Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] and the Republic of Belarus have established bilateral diplomatic relations at the level of embassies. An agreement was signed today by MPR Foreign Minister Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren and Belraus Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko.

The signing of a trade and economic cooperation agreement between the Republic of Belarus and Mongolia also took place today. The document was signed by Vladimir Radkevich, chairman of the State Committee [for External Economic Relations] of the Republic of Belarus, and Sed-ochiryn Bayarbaatar, the MPR minister of trade and industry.

After signing the agreement, V. Radkevich told a TASS correspondent that the aim of this document is to develop mutually beneficial trade and economic relations between the two countries. Belarus traditionally supplies machines to Mongolia. "Belarus" tractors and "Belaz" heavy dump trucks are in demand in Mongolia. In its turn, Belarus needs nonferrous metals and raw materials for light industry. Belorussian enterprises will be concluding direct agreements with their Mongolian partners and will engage in mutually beneficial trade.

Regarding whether barter deals or payments in freely convertible currency will be used and if Russia will demand payment for the freight transit, V. Radkevich noted that barter will be used at first and future settlements will be made by payments in currency. An increase in tariffs for freight transportation by rail is also being taken into account. Regarding Russia, he stressed that we have excellent business relations with the Russian Government.

The ceremony at which the documents were signed was attended by Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers, MPR Prime Minister Dashiyn Byambasuren, and other officials.

Officials Comment on Visit

LD3001232192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1343 GMT 24 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Vyacheslav Poznakherev and Dugar Sanzhijev]

[Excerpt] Ulaanbaatar, 24 Jan (TASS)—A brief working visit to the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] by a government delegation of the Republic of Belarus headed by V.F. Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has ended.

Talks were held between V.F. Kebich and MPR Prime Minister Dashiyn Byambasuren. The chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers was received by MPR President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat.

Answering a TASS correspondent's question on the significance of the talks, the head of the MPR Cabinet of Ministers, D. Byambasuren, noted that this was the first visit after the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States by a head of government of a sovereign country, formerly a part of the USSR.

"Every Mongol knows the world "Belarus" thanks to a tractor which has this name and feeds us. We have planned a wide range of cooperation, not only in bilateral trade, but also in the sphere of investments and humanitarian issues," the Mongolian prime minister said. Having warmly mentioned such qualities of the Belorussian people as openness, cordiality, kindness of heart, and courage, he stressed that Mongolia will take most active participation so that the people of Belarus may recover from the Chernobyl accident as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

The Republic of Belarus government delegation left for home today. At the capital's airport, "Bayant-Uhaa," decorated with the state flags of Mongolia and Belarus, V.F. Kebich and his officials were seen off by C. Purevdorj, deputy prime minister of the Mongolian Government; Gombosuren, minister of foreign relations; S. Bayarbaatar, minister of trade and industry; and other officials.

Before leaving, V.F. Klebich told TASS correspondents that he was leaving Mongolia with a feeling of complete satisfaction since the Mongolian side, in his opinion, had demonstrated enviable openness and efficiency in resolving issues. Obviously, the whole course of historic events that preceded the achieved agreements predetermined the unity of approaches to the problems facing our countries. We found common language quickly and I am sure that we will implement everything we have planned in specific deeds in the very near future, the chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers stressed.

Economic Cooperation Accord Signed With DPRK

LD3001221992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 24 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Valiyev]

[Excerpt] Pyongyang, 24 Jan (TASS)—An intergovernmental agreement on the creation of a permanent commission on trade and economic cooperation between the DPRK and the Republic of Belarus was signed yesterday in Pyongyang. Kim Den-U, DPRK deputy minister of external economic affairs, and Nikolay Makayed, deputy chairman of the state committee of the Republic of Belarus for external economic relations, signed the document. The agreement provides for the commission to meet once a year alternately in Minsk and Pyongyang. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Ties Established With Czechoslovakia

LD3001214492 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Prague January 30 TASS—A protocol regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia [CSFR] and Belarus was signed in Prague today by the foreign ministers of the two states Jiri Dienstbier and Petr Kravchenko, CTK news agency reported.

A joint communique about the establishment of diplomatic ties was signed by the heads of the Czechoslovak and Ukrainian Foreign Ministries, the same report said.

Further on Belarussian National Currency

LD3101060992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1657 GMT 27 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Minsk, 27 January (TASS)—After putting into circulation money marked with the legend "Belarus," the multi-million mass of ordinary rubles in the republic will be burned in view of a specially created Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] commission. This was announced by Georgiy Tarasevich, Belarus deputy finance minister, at a news conference today in Minsk.

According to his calculations, "marked rubles" will be introduced no earlier than in four months, after a final agreement on this matter with the leadership of CIS countries.

Parliamentarians Discuss Military Strength

LD3001170192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] A report from Minsk continues the topic of arms and the armed forces, but this topic has been taken to a local level. As you know the problem of dividing the Armed Forces of the former Union remains the most topical one in the political life of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. It was precisely this problem that was the subject of a discussion by Belarussian parliamentarians. Minsk is on the air. Radziya Takhtakhadzhayeva reports:

[Takhtakhadzhayeva] The composition of an expert group for defining the status of the troops stationed in the territory of Belarus was approved at a meeting of the permanent commission for issues of defense, national safety, and fighting crime of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, which took place recently. Commanders of the air defence forces and Air Force, representatives of the Belarussian Military District, and of the units of central subordination were included in it.

According to precise information, to date the overall strength of troops in Belarus is 160,000 men. A total of 81,000 of them are in the Belarussian Military District—according to the established strength, it should be 100,000—plus 60,000 civilians. Information has been prepared with regard to the weapons of the service and the number of military units. Now there are 1,714 of them. True, a significant portion is made up of cadres without personnel.

According to preliminary calculations by experts, by 1994 the strength of troops in Belarus will not exceed 80,000 men, taking into account strategic troops. A list of them and conditions for their stationing will be amplified at the forthcoming meeting of the representatives of the CIS member countries on military problems in February.

Cuts in the air defense forces are being envisaged. It is known that the personnel of one of its corps has already taken an oath of allegiance to the Ukraine. Besides, all warehouses and stores of munitions, vehicles, and equipment, cantonments on the territory of the republic, aviation and vehicle repair works, repair and construction depots, and the central staging depot in Brest should be transferred to the ownership of Belarus.

Transformation of Prosecutor's Office Reported

LD2701070492 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belorussian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] The Republic's Supreme Soviet has decided that the Prosecutor's Office of the Belarussian Military District be transformed into the Belarussian Military Prosecutor's Office and subordinated to the Prosecutor General of the Republic of Belarus.

Conflict Within Democratic Movement Noted

LD2401225392 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Minsk January 24 TASS—Two opposing tendencies manifest themselves in the democratic movement in Belarus. One of them is the striving for pooling all progressive forces in one political bloc, the other is towards exclusiveness and achieving unilateral leadership. This was manifested at a plenum of the central assembly of the Belarus Social Democratic Gromada Party where the idea of creating a bloc of the left forces, "New Belarus", was supported by everyone present. The Popular Front has virtually declared against by refusing the invitation to participate in the plenum. Publications controlled by the front run items negatively assessing the party's activity and prospects.

Despite this, the plenum supported the idea of the Belarus Popular Front to hold a referendum on disbanding the republic's parliament and electing new parliament on a professional basis after the new election law is adopted.

Kyrgyzstan

Security Service Chief Outlines Main Tasks

OW3001214192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1841 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Committee on Kyrgyzstan's National Security A. Bakayev told Thursday's [30 January] news conference dedicated to reforms in the former republican KGB that the main tasks of his committee are "intelligence and counter-intelligence, combat against terrorism and organized crime."

Bakayev said that in order to defend the state's economic interests special services have been set up to protect the credit financial system and to control the removal of material values from the republic.

He noted that this year 10 million rubles were earmarked to maintain the security service. Recently its leadership was replaced completely and 70% of its departments' chiefs are newly appointed.

Bakayev pointed out that the republican security service is far from being well-equipped. He complained in particular about the lack of telefax machines and video techniques.

On the same day for the first time in the history of the republican special service reporters had a chance to go on a short excursion to the committee.

Tajikistan

Border Violations Protested to Afghan Consul

LD3001193192 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] In the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Tajikistan: Mr. Mohammad Wali, consul of the Republic of Afghanistan [in Dushanbe], was summoned (?today) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan. It was brought to the notice of the consul that the Tajikistan Government is concerned over repeated attempts to violate the state border from the territory of Afghanistan.

These attempts (?directed) against defenseless people, which have caused losses among the population, as well as a recent attack on a border helicopter, are acts which do not help improve the situation along the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border and are causing alarm among the Tajik population.

The Tajikistan Government, in view of the traditions of good-neighborliness and friendly relations between the people of the two countries, hopes that the Afghanistan Government will take urgent measures for the nonrepetition of such incidents in the future.

The consul promised to convey the text of the message to the Afghanistan Government.

Turkmenia

President Decrees Defense Ministry Formation

LD2801222692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 28 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today President Niyazov issued a decree on the creation of the Turkmen Defense Ministry. The decree says all troop units stationed in the territory of the republic must clearly realize that their purpose is to ensure security for all members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and that the creation of the military ministry in Turkmenistan does not violate that task.

Danatar Kopekov has been put in charge of the ministry. He used to be chairman of the Committee for State Security. As journalists were told, the tasks of the ministry will become clearer following the meeting of the CIS heads of states to be held, as everyone knows, in Minsk on 14 February.

[Begin Major General B. Niyazov recording] For the moment we do not intend to form our own national army, but in my opinion there is no need for it as yet. The Defense Ministry will be specifically in charge of deciding what troops are to be stationed on the territory of Turkmenistan and whose interests they are to defend and protect—that is, those of Turkmenistan, former countries of the Union and at present of the CIS. [end recording]

Uzbekistan

Government Forms National Guard, Airline

OW3001181792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In Tashkent the Uzbek Council of Ministers made public a statement Thursday [30 January] about the formation of the republican national guard. It will be created on the basis of an Uzbek Interior Ministry regiment for the protection of state sovereignty, constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, as well as territorial integrity of Uzbekistan." [no begin quote marks received]

On the same day Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov issued a decree setting up the national airline "Uzbekiston Havo Iullari". The airline is being organized on the basis of the republican civil aviation department and is considered its successor.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Mongolia

OW3001133292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In Tashkent, Uzbekistan, the Uzbek Foreign Minister Abdurrazaqov and Deputy Foreign Minister of Mongolia Choinhor have signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between their countries at embassy level. According to the protocol, the Mongolian consulate in Uzbekistan will be transformed into an embassy.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Cuba

OW3001181092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [30 January] Cuba's Ambassador to the USSR Jose Ramon Balaguer who is currently visiting Tashkent handed over a message to Uzbek Foreign Minister U. Abdurrazqov from his Cuban counterpart Isidoro Malmierca. The message notifies about the recognition of Uzbekistan's independence by Havana and its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with Uzbekistan.

Armenia

Defense Minister on Army Formation, Draft

OW3001214892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1841 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Armenian Defense Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan told IF [INTERFAX] that the Armenian Defense Ministry is currently concentrated on setting up the national army and solving the problems arising from the complex situation in the republic and in the whole Transcaucasian region. He said Armenia's policy in the military sphere is aimed at maintaining "normal relations with Command of the 7th Army of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Unified Armed Forces stationed in the republic. [no end quote marks received]

At the same time, he emphasized that "control over the army's command will have to be tightened despite the fact that Armenia has its representatives in each of the units." The minister quoted as one of the reasons for that decision "the recent incident with military helicopters at Yerevan's Eredvi airport. [no end quote marks received] Sarkisyan described the movement of the military helicopters from Yerevan as "trickery" of the republican leadership.

He also noted that some 5,000 Armenian young men will be recruited for the 7th Army this year. He added that finally the army will be "nationalized." The minister said the national armed forces expected to bring themselves to strength by May have also begun the draft.

Azerbaijani Helicopter Crash Version Disputed

NC3001182792 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] RIA correspondent Marina Maksimovskaya reports from Stepanakert: As is already known, an MI-8 helicopter from the Azerbaijani Aviation Department crashed at the [word indistinct] outskirts of Shusha on 28 January under unknown circumstances. The crew and passengers died.

Despite the fact that the helicopter was flying from Agdam to Shusha, the Azerbaijani side has declared that the passengers on board were women and children who were being evacuated. If so, it would have been more logical to evacuate people from Shusha to Agdam and not the other way around. There are, however, reports that 40 Azerbaijanis dressed in military uniforms were on board the helicopter. [Word indistinct] the witnesses to the crash confirm that following the outbreak of fire in the tail section of the helicopter, well-known crates were thrown out of the craft. The crates were similar to those used to transport grenades and ammunition.

Colonel Armen Isagulyan, head of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Internal Affairs Department, told an RIA correspondent that according to the data provided by the commandant of the internal troops [of the Commonwealth of Independent States] which were present in the conflict zone until 24 December 1991, there is a Grad missile site in Shusha, whose presence the Azerbaijan's permanent mission in Moscow has denied. This means that Stepanakert might face even [words indistinct]. But there are no plans to evacuate the women and children, said NKR Prime Minister Oleg Yesayan in talking to an RIA correspondent. He added that Stepanakert is no more dangerous than any other place. The entire territory of Nagorno-Karabakh might come under shelling. An evacuation is technically impossible because of a lack of fuel and transportation. Besides, three of the main roads leading out of Nagorno-Karabakh are blocked by Azerbaijanis, and the fourth has been coming under fire.

Official Views Plans To Introduce Currency

LD3001104492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] For Armenia, the period up to 1995 will be one of economic stabilization and then transition to market conditions and structural changes to the economy. This was declared by Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan in a speech today at the opening of a conference on Armenia's economic policies. He noted the trend among a number of ex-Soviet republic toward the introduction of their own currencies, announcing that Armenia should also be ready to take such a step and that the republic's government is working along these lines.

Government To Impose Excise Taxes 1 Feb

OW3101115292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] A member of the Armenian president's press service has told IF [INTERFAX] that the imposition of excise will be conducive to increasing the republic's revenues. Under the decree the excise will be imposed as of February 1 on vodka (60%), brandy (50%), grape wines (35%), champagne (40%), chocolate (34%), cigarettes (from 9 to 38%, depending on the brand), crystal and porcelain (40%), natural leather articles (30%), carpets (15%), fur and articles made of fur (30%), tyres (57%).

Rally Held; Removal of Officials Urged

NC3001215492 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] HAYASTAN paper reports that a large public rally took place in Charentsavan. The participants expressed no confidence in Ishkhanyan, who is the government's plenipotentiary representative occupying the post of city soviet chairman. They sent a letter to Armenia's president, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the prime minister asking them to remove the

appointed official from his post, organize direct popular elections for the chairmanship of the city soviet, and dispatch a Supreme Soviet investigatory commission to the city.

First Flight Flown Between Yerevan, Tehran

OW3101115492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The first air flight from Yerevan to Tehran took place on Thursday [30 January]. A Tu-134 plane delivered passengers from the Armenian to the Iranian capital in 1 hour 30 minutes.

The flight was established thanks to an agreement signed between the Armenian state-run air company and "Iran Air Tour".

As IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent learned from the Armenian air company, in the near future its planes will begin to fly to Los Angeles (the U.S.), Amsterdam (the Netherlands), Paris (France), and Aleppo (Syria).

Acting Trade Minister Appointed

NC3001215592 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Jan (ARMENPRES)—Tigran Eduardovich Grigoryan, 43, has been appointed Armenia's acting minister of trade. He formerly was the head of the directorate for fruit and vegetable procurement.

Azerbaijan

Military Offensive Begins in Nagorno-Karabakh

'Large-Scale' Offensive Reported

LD3101123192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report from the Armenian Moscow Information Service [Armyanskaya Moskovskaya Informatsionnaya Sluzhnba]. I will read it out in full:

On 31 January, at 1200 Moscow time, a large-scale offensive by the Azerbaijani Army, with the use of armor, including tanks, began on the Armenian part of Nagorno-Karabakh. The offensive is being carried out from the town of Agdam in Azerbaijan, in the direction of Stepanakert. The Armenian side is holding its defenses at the villages of (Aramort) and Nakhichevanik, and the rayon center of Askeran.

'Several Thousand' Involved

NC3101124292 Paris AFP in English 1220 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, Jan 31 (AFP)—Azerbaijan's army launched a major offensive Friday [31 January] against the main town in the Armenian majority enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, claiming several victims, Russian news reports said.

Local correspondents said several thousand Azeri soldiers were involved in the operation, launched from the town of Agdam, several kilometers (miles) outside the enclave. The offensive, backed by armoured vehicles, was headed towards Stepanakert, the region's capital, Russian television said. The town of Khramort had been taken and there were "victims," the Russian news agency NEGA said, without giving details. Armenians were defending the town of Askeran, northwest of the capital, and the village of Nakhichevanik, NEGA added. The television said the Azerbaijani military launched a "massive offensive backed by armoured vehicles" at about noon Moscow time (0900 GMT).

Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov on Thursday [30 January] called for the reinforcement "as fast as possible" of the national guard, or army, two days after the government said an Azerbaijani civilian helicopter was shot down by a missile over the enclave, at the cost of some 40 lives.

Hundreds have been killed in fighting over Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Christian Armenian enclave surrounded by mainly Muslim Azerbaijan. The enclave's Armenian majority wants to be joined to the republic of Armenia rather than remain part of an independent Azerbaijan.

Friday in Prague, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) decided to send a fact-finding mission to Nagorno-Karabakh. Douglas Hogg, a minister of state at the British Foreign Office, said the mission would leave as soon as possible. "There will be a fact-finding mission sent to Nagorno-Karabakh, to find out and report back in 21 days," Hogg said.

The report "as to the affairs in Nagorno-Karabakh" will then be discussed by senior officials of the CSCE, "and at that stage we will then have to consider what further action should be taken," he said. "This is an important step forward," Hogg said, pointing to the "very considerable urgency" of the situation in the enclave.

NKAO Supreme Soviet Appeal

LD3001210892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Report by V. Nazaryan on situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO, including recorded remarks by A. Mkrtchyan, chairman of the

NKAO Supreme Soviet; from the "Novosti" newscast presented by Irina Mishina]

[Text] [Nazaryan] The crisis in Armenia continues. There is no light or heating, and gas is still in short supply. But all our misfortunes are nothing compared with what is taking place in Karabakh today, where death and hunger are an everyday occurrence. There is a shortage of water and practically no bread in Stepanakert and NKAO villages. In fear of artillery shelling—the Azeri side is using weapons of the former Soviet Army, including the Grad missile installations, notorious for their destructive capacity—people have been living in basements for a long time. Babies are being born in the basements of maternity homes, while doctors are helping injured people to recover in the basements of hospitals. [Mkrtchyan] It is not political issues but the issue of people's lives that is at stake in Karabakh. We appeal to the world community and to all the people of goodwill to help the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Nazaryan] The Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and numerous observers, including international ones, have called more than once for declaring Karabakh a disaster zone and introducing UN special troops to the area. But the Azeri side is against the internationalization of the issue, since it regards the genocide of the Karabakh Armenians as its internal affair. True, it is easier to commit lawless acts away from witnesses.

One last thing: With regard to the helicopter incident over Karabakh on 28 January, republican newspapers write today that according to data intercepted by the self-defense forces, and contary to the Baku official version, the helicopter carried not peaceful civilians but soldiers of the Azerbaijan National Army. Many people witnessed that after the helicopter's tail caught fire, large green boxes were dumped from the helicopter. Anyway, the investigation will have the last word.

Official Comments

NC3001221192 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Artur Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR], visited Armenia during the last few days. He met with Armenian officials, members of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and media representatives and spoke on Armenian television.

During these contacts he stressed that at present, Nagorno-Karabakh's main concern is the physical survival of its people. There has been no power in Stepanakert for the past month. People wait in queues for hours for a few liters of water. The population is facing a genuine famine.

He said the media should create a certain feeling surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh; otherwise, it will be impossible to exert pressure on Azerbaijan without the backing of public opinion.

The NKR Supreme Soviet chairman said that neither the international community nor the former Soviet republics are very interested in the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh. This is because every time an effort is made in this direction, Azerbaijan objects to it by invoking the principle of non-interference in "internal affairs."

Mkrtchyan said: Contrary to what the politicians say, including the leaders of the former Soviet republics, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is not a conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia—it is a conflict between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Azerbaijan will have to accept that Armenians will go on living in these lands of ours. If it rejects that, we will live on these lands through our own means, he declared.

Helicopter Crash Detailed

OW3001133792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The helicopter that crashed in Nagorno-Karabakh outside Shusha on Tuesday was hit by two combat helicopters without markings as well as from the ground. This was reported to IF [INTERFAX] at the press service of the Azeri president. According to the initial Azeri version, the helicopter was shot down by a heat-guided rocket that hit the tail of the aircraft. The press service spokesman said 47 passengers were killed.

Meanwhile, the Armenian side denies any shooting at the helicopter. According to a source in the Armenian government, a fire in the tail end must have caused the crash.

The law-enforcement department of Nagorno-Karabakh claims that the falling helicopter was seen by pilots of a military helicopter that was in the air at the time of the accident and they did not see any rocket or explosion on the MI-8.

An unnamed military pilot stationed in Armenia said that a heat-guided rocket always hits the engine, not the tail of a helicopter. After that the helicopter falls immediately, while in this case the pilots managed to take it to a safer place. He also supported the possibility of a fire because the mechanic usually has his belongings—oily rags, etc.—in the tail end.

The interior department of Nagorno Karabakh has started an investigation of the crash, but the investigators cannot visit the site of the accident, because the territory is controlled by the Azeri side.

Reliable sources in the Armenian government have informed IF that Yerevan will evidently refrain from an

official statement or commentary on the crash, because it does not involve Armenia or Armenians.

Mutalibov Sends Condolences

NC3001094492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov has conveyed condolences to the families of the victims of the helicopter incident. The message is as follows:

It is with deep grief that I convey my condolences to the families of the innocent victims of the recent act of violence which killed all on board an Azeri civil aviation helicopter over Khankendi. This incident continues the chain of crimes committed by Armenian terrorists against the Azerbaijani people in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. I assure you and all Azerbaijani citizens that those responsible will be punished mercilessly.

[Signed] President Ayaz Mutalibov

Western Observers Agreed To

LD3101043792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0420 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Azerbaijan has agreed to receive Western observers in Karabakh. This was stated by a representative of Azerbaijan in Prague, where a meeting of CSCE foreign ministers is taking place. At the meeting in Prague, accusations directed at Azerbaijan were heard regarding human rights violations in Karabakh.

President Addresses Security Council Meeting

LD3001141492 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku January 30 TASS—"The world must know that Azerbaijan is not waging war on the civilian population, as it is being done by the Armenian side, but against unlawful armed gangs and mercenaries sent into our country. And we shall be merciless in this just struggle of ours," Azeri President Ayaz Mutalibov told an emergency meeting of the republic's National Security Council today. The meeting was called to discuss the sharp escalation of hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The council debated problems linked with the situation in the conflict area and measures to stem the activities of Armenian militants. Mutalibov has ordered an operational headquarters to be set up. It is called upon to ensure the security of the Azeri population in the region, to render aid to victimised families.

"We are confronted," Mutalibov said, "with a huge, well organised military force. The armed gangs that have entrenched themselves in the mountains of Karabakh, draw on the capital of the Armenian diaspora abroad and are backed by lobbyists from the former USSR."

The president's press service reported today that Mutalibov has put off his trip to Switzerland, scheduled for the end of January, where he was invited to attend the world economic forum.

Defensive Measures Discussed

NC3001195292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] The National Security Council, affiliated with the president of Azerbaijan, met on 28 January. Matters related to safeguarding Azerbaijanis in the mountainous area of Karabakh against the armed Armenian attacks were examined. Crucial measures were established to strengthen security in Shusha city and the towns around it. The Council also heard reports on these matters from Internal Affairs Minister Kerimov, Azerbaijan Minister of National Security Guseynov, and Azerbaijan First Deputy Minister of Defense Musayev. Other matters also were examined during the meeting.

President Mutalibov instructed the pertinent main administrations to expedite their efforts to draw up and implement the defensive measures which the regional situation demands.

Text of Turkish Cooperation Agreement Issued

NC3001132692 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 28 Jan 92

["Text" of an agreement signed by Azerbaijani President Mutalibov and Turkish President Turgut Ozal during Ayaz Mutalibov's visit to Turkey between 23 and 26 January]

[Text] Seeking to broaden their cooperation and strengthen their friendly relations, respecting each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in the other's internal affairs;

Reaffirming their support of the UN Charter's aims and objectives, the Helsinki Final Accord, the Paris Treaty, establishing a new Europe, and CSCE documents;

Believing that their common history and culture and similar traditions and languages, including their long-standing relations, will constitute a valuable basis for multisided cooperation; and

Reendorsing agreements between the former Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and Turkey, which comply with the countries' current interests and include the Gakh Treaty of 13 October 1921, establishing a common border between them, Azerbaijan and Turkey have agreed the following:

1. According to the contemporary principles which govern the development of international relations, and based on mutual confidence and fruitful cooperation, the sides will significantly improve their political, economic,

trade, agricultural, scientific, technological, and cultural relations and those in information, tourism, sport, and elsewhere.

2. The sides, with a view to developing their relations normally, will periodically exchange views on local and international issues which concern their bilateral relations. They will also first establish the agenda, place, and date of political consultations between their high-ranking Foreign Ministry representatives.

3. Considering that trade and economic cooperation bear significantly on bilateral relations, the sides will create a basis for improving and realizing joint investment plans and upgrading potential in their volume of trade.

4. The sides will facilitate the exchange of economic, scientific, and technological information and experience, and create an opportunity for further broadening relations at all levels so that the two countries' potential in these areas can be better represented.

5. The sides will cooperate on training experts in various fields, concentrating on training and improving administrative cadres in the economic and diplomatic fields. The sides will also create an opportunity for the exchange of teachers and students.

6. They will create the conditions for establishing cooperation between social organizations, business circles, and associations, depending on their nature and vocational field, parliaments, political parties, and trade unions. They will also create the conditions for exchanging these organizations' representatives and for strengthening fraternal relations between Azerbaijani and Turkish cities.

7. The sides will create broad conditions for better understanding between the Azerbaijani and Turkish people, who have a common culture. They will contribute toward maintaining uninterrupted relations between cultural organizations and fine arts circles and cooperate extensively on opening cultural centers in each country. They will contribute toward protecting the historical and cultural heritage, and focus on cooperating with international organizations on culture, architecture, and in fine arts.

8. They will study the possibility of signing consular agreements, with a view to broadening relations between the two fraternal countries' peoples and upgrading their consular relations.

9. The sides will attach significant importance to cooperating further on communications and in the exchange of information in the media and similar fields. They will undertake to support the exchange and distribution of all kinds of information and publications.

10. They will make it known that broadening their cooperation and friendly relations, according to the agreement, will not touch on other countries' interests. Nor will it relieve them of their obligations as parties to the bilateral and multisided agreements they have signed with other countries.

11. This agreement will be effective once the sides ratify it according to their constitutional requirements. Drawn up and signed as two texts, in Azerbaijani and Turkish, in Ankara on 24 January 1992, the agreement's two texts are of equal strength.

[Signed] Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov and Turkish President Turgut Ozal

Turkish Defense Minister Outlines Cooperation

LD3001193792 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksander Chelyshev]

[Text] Istanbul January 30 TASS—Military cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan will be carried out only at "the level of military training," according to a statement by Turkish Defence Minister Nevzat Ayaz, published in the MILLIYET newspaper on Thursday [30 January].

During the recent visit of Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov to Ankara, the sides agreed in principle that Azeri officers will be trained in Turkey, but no documents were signed on the matter.

"We have not yet signed any documents with Azerbaijan on the issue," Nevzat Ayaz said, but added military training is envisaged in the framework of cooperation between the two countries.

The defence minister made it clear that military contacts between Turkey and Azerbaijan do not envisage any deliveries of weapons to Azerbaijan, the newspaper reports.

Dagestan Agrees to Bilateral Relations

NC2801170492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] A Baku Radio correspondent in Kuba has reported that representatives of the neighboring rayons of Azerbaijan and Dagestan met in Kuba Rayon today to discuss strengthening economic and cultural relations between the two republics. Solving problems related to the transition to a market economy and improving Azerbaijan-Dagestan relations were also examined. It was noted that significant opportunities exist in the two republics to broaden their border trade, establish joint establishments, and strengthen mutual cooperation.

According to an agreement reached, the two sides will establish committees composed of representatives of border rayons to help improve bilateral relations. Several proposals were discussed during the meeting as well.

V. Alekperov, deputy chairman of the Dagestan Autonomous Republic Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Economic Planning Committee; Abbas [name indistinct], state adviser of the Azerbaijan Republic; Turkhan (Sari-zade), deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan State Economic Planning Committee; and heads of executive departments and responsible workers of the agroindustrial organizations in the borders rayons also attended the meeting.

Republic Issues Statement on Jan 1990 Events

NC2801073192 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] The Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Assembly has issued the following statement on the tragic incidents that occurred in Baku in January 1990:

A military attack was organized against the Azerbaijani people two years ago. Their national pride was humiliated. Hundreds of innocent people, including women, children, and elderly people, were killed, wounded or declared missing as a result of this military attack, which was aimed at suppressing the Azerbaijani people's struggle for democracy and national freedom. Democratic forces in several Azerbaijani rayons, including Baku, were crushed. Kerki in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic was attacked, occupied, and annexed by the Armenians with the help of the former Soviet Armed Forces.

The statement describes the tragic development in January 1990 as a military aggression violating Azerbaijan's sovereign rights and human rights in general and demands that this historic injustice be removed and the murderers of the innocent sons of the Azerbaijani people be exposed.

Georgia

Situation Stabilizing; Gamsakhurdia in Hiding

Zugdidi Quiet; Poti Unstable

AU3001162292 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Dear radio listeners. As you have been informed in the news broadcasts, the situation in the rayons of western Georgia is gradually getting back to normal.

This evening, we spoke on the phone with Paata Datuashvili, chief of the National Guard headquarters in Zugdidi. As he informed us, National Guard officers, workers from headquarters, and the military plenipotentiary are going about explaining the situation to the population on a wide scale. This has already brought certain results. It is presently quiet in the town. During the last two days there have been no acts of banditry, robbery, or looting. The situation is such that the local population is patrolling in the town [word indistinct] together with guardsmen.

At present, Zugdidi has one week's supply of bread. The military plenipotentiary together with the sakrebulo [assembly—local government body] are taking action to bring in other food products.

It is unfortunate that supporters of the former president burned down the TV (?antenna). No republican press is being received, and therefore there is an information vacuum in the town and rayon.

The town's population is insisting that the republic's new powers take the (?necessary) measures to restore the TV and radio.

We now propose that you hear a telephone recording from Poti. Our correspondent spoke this evening with Merab Absandze, a member of the Poti sakrebulo.

[Begin recording] [Absandze] [words indistinct] you cannot call them rallies or demonstrations. However, a mass of angry people is gathering in the town center and, from this point of view, one cannot say that the situation is stable. This is not so dangerous. What is more dangerous is the fact that armed groups are still active. They are stirring up the people and spreading panic and rumors. Several times railway lines leading out of the town have been taken up, which has prevented trains loaded with grain from leaving for Tbilisi.

From where I am speaking, (?directors) of all the town's enterprises and institutions have gathered. Work will restart tomorrow and schools will reopen on Monday [3 February]. We hope that everything will end well. [passage indistinct]

[Correspondent] Have there been any incidents yesterday and today? Have there been any victims?

[Absandze] There were no victims yesterday (?or today). [words indistinct] There is a lot of theft at night. A curfew will probably, no, definitely will be, introduced tonight. [end recording]

Gamsakhurdia Doubles Revealed

LD3001181292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1545 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Report by IPRINDA correspondent Zurab Dvali]

[Text] Mr. Roman Gventsadze, acting interior minister of the Republic of Georgia, held a news conference on 30 January. He analyzed the situation in the Republic. The general situation in Tbilisi remains more or less satisfactory, leaving aside some petty crime. To deal with this, the militia will take steps to confiscate illegally held weapons, he said. However, the situation in western Georgia remains tense. Additional militia have been sent to the region in order to stabilize the situation there, the minister stressed.

Now for the situation in Abkhazia. On 30 January a meeting was supposed to be held between Georgian members of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet and representatives of the strike committee in Sukhumi. They were scheduled to discuss the question of ending the railway blockade. Unfortunately this meeting has not taken place. (Nugzar Galublishvili), a member of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, said that he did not see any point in further resistance to the provisional Government, aimed mainly at supporting the ex-president and continuing the pointless struggle. The Abkhaz Supreme Soviet is insisting that Georgian deputies bring up the subject of the situation in Tbilisi. In Sukhumi itself there is only enough bread left for 10 days because of the railwaymen's strike. On 30 January in Ochamchire on the Black Sea coast of Georgia, a group of armed men stole several tonnes of flour from a bakery. The town has been left effectively without bread.

A spokesman for the Military Council informed the IPRINDA correspondent that there is no news yet of casualties in Zugdidi. However, the president's supporters claim that at least 10 people were killed. Georgiy Karkarashvili has been appointed the Military Council's representative in this town. The prefecturate has been dissolved.

However, public attention in Georgia is now focused on the town of Gali, where the committee for national disobedience has now moved. At the moment, Tengiz Kitovani's troops do not intend to enter this town.

In Tbilisi itself another demonstration was held today by supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia. About 3,000 demonstrators gathered in Station Square on 30 January. They chanted: Down With the Junta! and Zviad, Zviad! It was stated that most townspeople support the protest by adherents of the former authorities. Speakers at the meeting adopted an appeal to the Ukrainian leadership, calling on them to raise the Georgian question at the United Nations.

It was disclosed at the meeting that Zviad Gamsakhurdia has doubles in Georgia and Chechnya. This is confusing the provisional Government. This fact is regarded by the demonstrators as a successful political ploy on the part of the ex-president. The demonstrators staged a march into the city. Outside the Cabinet office, they were met by a cordon of firemen who dispersed them using jets of water.

Those are the most interesting events that I am able to report at the moment. This is Zurab Dvali and the independent IPRINDA news agency with a special report for Mayak.

Security Minister on Situation

OW3001220292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1841 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian National Security Minister Anzor Maisuradze said that on Thursday [30 January] the situation in the Georgian western cities of Poti and Zugdidi continued to stabilize.

He told a news conference in Tbilisi January 30 that today there was no reports on clashes with Gamsakhurdia supporters. Talks are being held with Gamsakhurdia supporters in the Galskiy region of Abkhazia on lifting the blockade on a local railroad.

Georgian Interior Minister Roman Gventsadze, who also took part in the news conference, confirmed that Zviad Gamsakhurdia is currently in Groznyy (Chechnya) and that he is "sending from there to Georgia videocassettes with adventurous speeches."

Asked if Gamsakhurdia was a KGB agent, Maisuradze said no. He also said that during the fighting in Tbilisi almost one third of the KGB building was destroyed by fire.

Fighting Reported Overnight in South Ossetia

LD3001141192 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz January 30 ITAR-TASS—Last night was again intranquil at the flashpoints of South Ossetia, according to the South Ossetian Information Committee's press centre. Shots were again fired at the far approaches to Tskhinvali and in villages of Znauri district.

Aimed fire was conducted from the outskirts of the Georgian villages of Nikozi and Tamarasheni as well as from the direction of populated areas of Gori district on residential areas of South Ossetia, checkpoints of Interior Ministry troops and the territory of a helicopter regiment.

Detachments of the Ossetian guard had to return the fire. There are wounded among both civilians and servicemen.

Matters concerning the situation in South Ossetia were considered in Tbilisi at a session of the Provisional Political Council of Georgia with the participation of representatives of some political currents and public movements, according to sources close to the Supreme Council of the South Ossetian Republic.

The Georgian Provisional Political Council also analysed the results of a meeting between Ossetian and Georgian public delegations on the outskirts of Tskhinvali.

Local analysts note, however, that the main issues remained unexamined: an immediate cessation of the armed conflict between Ossets and Georgians, the lifting of the economic and transportation blockade around Tskhinvali and the Georgian authorities' attitude to the results of the referendum in South Ossetia.

Participants in the council session in Tbilisi believe that the Tskhinvali dialogue of the public gave a certain impetus to official talks between the leadership of South Ossetia and plenipotentiary representatives of the provisional government of Georgia.

However, according to Znayur Gassiyev, prime minister of the South Ossetian republic, the Ossetian side intends to hold talks only provided certain conditions are observed.

A spokesman at the Council of Ministers of the North Ossetian Republic told ITAR-TASS that humanitarian aid supplies had begun reaching the republic's capital from foreign countries.

Six tonnes of aid supplies, the core of which is made of medicines and instruments, to the tune of over 2.5 million Belgian francs have arrived in the capital.

The supplies are addressed to North and South Ossetia by the "Physicians Without Frontiers" international humanitarian aid association. In the coming days the supplies, escorted by the military, will be transported to the besieged Tskhinvali.

South Ossetians' Rights 'Guaranteed in Full'

OW3001155192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [29 January] the Georgian city of Gori hosted a meeting between Georgia's military council officials and people from the villages adjoining South Ossetia from which thousands of ethnic Ossetians fled in recent months. The new authorities of Georgia said at the meeting that the Ossetians can return to their homes any time, and that their rights will be guaranteed in full. This does not apply to those who sold their dwellings.

According to reports from Tskhinval, South Ossetia's administrative center is still besieged. Electricity supplies from Georgia were cut more than two weeks ago, while electricity supplied from North Ossetia is not enough even for household coffee mills. Water and gas supplies are often interrupted. Georgian paramilitary units continue to fire at Ossetian villages, even though nothing has been heard about casualties lately.

Final Results of South Ossetia Vote Released

OW3001165392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [29 January] South Ossetia's parliament convened for a session where the central electoral commission announced the final results of the referendum held on January 19. 96.9% of the voters went to the polling stations. 99.75% of them spoke in favor of their republic's independence and in favor of joining the Russian Federation. Currently South Ossetia is part of Georgia which calls it Samachablo and refuses to recognize it as an independent republic.

Vote To Join Russia Viewed

92US0207A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Natalya Pachegina: "South Ossetia Has Voted To Join the Russian Federation: Georgia Has Stated That It Would Defend Its Integrity: Will Russia Manage to Avoid Involvement in the Caucasus Conflict?"]

[Text] The official results of a referendum in South Ossetia, held there last Sunday [26 January], have not been released yet. According to the information of the North Ossetian Ministry of Internal Affairs, no violations were registered in the course of the referendum. By midday on 19 January more than 90 percent of the local population responded in the affirmative to the following questions: "Do you consent to the Republic of South Ossetia being independent?" and "Do you agree with the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the independent Republic of South Ossetia, dated 1 September 1990, on unification with Russia?"

As a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent was told by the staff of the chairman of the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet, the logic of the initiators of this referendum is understandable, but Vladikavkaz subscribes to a different point of view on ways to resolve the Ossetian-Georgian conflict (a group of deputies of the South Ossetia Supreme Soviet headed by acting chairman of the parliament Znaur Gasiyev acted as the initiators of the referendum).

* * *

Galina Starovoytova, adviser to the president of Russia on interethnic relations:

Therefore, South Ossetia, which sought to be under the wing of Russia several years before the signing of the Georgiyevsk Treaty with Georgia in 1783, is once again asking to be in Russia. This puts us in a difficult situation. Russian democrats have sympathized with the struggle of the people of South Ossetia against military pressure all along. Let us not conceal the fact that the Ossetians responded to cruelty with cruelty. A considerable segment of the Georgian population have left Ossetia. A considerable segment of Ossetians have left Georgia.

Ossetians have lived on this land for several hundred years now. However, given their ancient statehood, the Georgians believe that these several centuries are merely a short period in the long history of the Georgian people.

In this instance we encounter a more general problem. All of this resembles the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, or that in Krajna in Croatia—an area populated by

Serbs. This is what the issue is: From the point of view of international law, which is more important—upholding state sovereignty and the integrity of borders of a particular state, or the right of peoples to self-determination? After all, both these factors have been reflected and codified in international legal documents. Which principle should have priority? What should be the constitutional mechanism for exercising the right of peoples to self-determination while not bringing about chaos and anarchy? I believe that only a combination of three criteria—historical, ethnic-demographic, and, mainly, a demonstration of the will of the people—may provide a legitimate basis for solving self-determination problems. These three criteria do not come together all that often. However, a democracy cannot ignore them if they come together at the same time in the same territory. I believe that we should now wait for the final results of the referendum, evaluate their legal validity, and only then hear the legitimate representatives of the South Ossetian people at a session of the Russian parliament. Sooner or later, the international community should set a precedent for resolving such problems. Perhaps this will happen in the case of Ossetia, or Nagorno-Karabakh, or Krajna. I do not know.

Will Russia succeed in avoiding direct involvement in the conflict between Georgia and Ossetia? It is very easy to avoid the conflict, and this is what Russia has been doing to date. However, if Russia continues to ignore the demands of the peoples of the Caucasus, the autonomous entities of North Caucasus belonging to Russia will no longer attach hopes to Russia either. This is impermissible both from the humanitarian point of view and from the positions of democracy. Therefore, it is possible to evade, but I am not sure that this is precisely what the goal of Russia should be.

The last meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Moscow in October, rendered a verdict: The international community should abandon the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of countries when the issue is violations of human rights or the rights of ethnic minorities.

Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation: "This unanimous show of will is certainly a new and prominent element in the development of the situation. We will follow the course of events in Georgia closely with a view to proposing a balanced solution."

Abkhazia Creates Group for Talks With Tbilisi

OW3001133392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament of Abkhazia, an autonomous republic in Georgia, has set up a group to contact the Military Council and provisional government of Georgia with the purpose of easing tension in Gal region bordering on Georgia. It is populated mostly by Mengrels, a Georgian ethnic group.

Most Mengrels side with Zviad Gamsakhurdia in his conflict with the new Georgian authorities. The situation in Gal region worsened after armed units loyal to Tbilisi approached the Ingur river on the border between Abkhazia and Georgia. Residents urged the Abkhaz parliament to strengthen border defence and send a representative to the area.

The Abkhaz parliament which maintains neutrality in the conflict between the new Georgian authorities and Gamsakhurdia's supporters complied with the second request and appointed a deputy from the region its representative there.

First Phase of Price Decontrol To Begin 4 Feb

LD3001161792 Hamburg DPA in German 1056 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Tbilisi/Moscow (DPA)—The transitional government in Georgia decided today on the first step toward the complete decontrol of prices. According to information received by DPA, the cabinet in Tbilisi increased prices for some basic goods and services by 10 times their current price. Thus as of 4 February bread will cost 4 rubles, instead of the present 40 kopecks The precise list of all goods affected will be published in the next few days.

According to the head of government, Tengis Sigua, this is the first round of price reforms, which will end in the autumn with a complete decontrol of prices. [passage omitted]

Cabinet Approves Housing Privatization Law

AU3001123792 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 30 Jan

[Text] Yesterday the session of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers discussed and approved a law on the privatization of housing.

As you know, the temporary political consultative council had previously discussed this question and a

majority of its members had supported the transfer of the entire housing space to the population free of charge.

We will remind you that the initial draft envisaged the transfer of (?18) square meters of living space to each individual for private ownership and an additional 12 square meters for an entire family.

The expanded session of the Cabinet of Ministers in which the representatives of various political parties, (?departments), and public organizations participated, taking into account the social situation and the serious economic situation affecting wide segments of the population, has adopted a decision on the privatization of the entire housing space free of charge. In other words, the entire living space will be transferred completely free of charge to each family for private ownership.

Batoni Tengiz Sigua, acting head of the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government, has entrusted the Ministries of Justice and Finance with elaborating the rules for the transfer of housing into private ownership within 10 (?days).

Universities, Colleges Become Self-Governing

LD3001233292 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 27 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishviliy and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi January 27 TASS—According to a decree by the provisional government, published on Tuesday [28 January], all Georgian universities and colleges became self-governed entities in order to use their scientific potentials to full capacity and to democratise the education.

The decree rules that all higher educational establishments will now be in full possession of their basic and other assets. All the higher educational establishments are suggested to determine as soon as possible the provisions of electing rectors.

Estonia

Parliament Endorses Prime Minister's Cabinet

Members Named

OW3001141292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1324 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian parliament has endorsed a new Cabinet under Tiit Vahi.

Seven members of the previous government have been included in the new cabinet: Education Minister Rein Loik, Minister of Trade Alexander Sikkal, Environment Minister Tynis Kaasik, Finance Minister Rein Miller, Foreign Minister Lennart Meri and Labour Minister Arvo Kuddo. The newly appointed ministers are State Minister Uno Veerik, Construction Minister Olari Taal, Justice Minister Mart Rask, Culture Minister Mart Kubo, Economics Minister Heido Vitsur, Transport Minister Enn Sarap, Industry and Energy Minister Aksel Treimann, Interior Minister Robert Narska and Justice Minister Andres Kork.

The Minister of Agriculture has not been appointed yet.

In his policy statement Tiit Vahi said only cooperation by various political forces, parliament and the government can end the crisis in the republic. He said the new government was going to present to parliament shortly an account of Estonia's resources and solvency in order to find ways out of one of the most serious phases of the crisis. Vahi believes that Estonia must introduce its own currency without delay, because it is no longer possible to wait for a suitable moment.

Candidate Prime Minister said Estonia must become independent politically and economically. He said he was against the two-week-old state of emergency in the Estonian economy imposed by the Edgar Savisaar government.

Vahi said he would support the introduction of tough control of the Estonian borders, not only of people crossing it, but of the traffic of goods, investment, capital and cash, too.

The candidate said the new government would support and put its main stake on private enterprise. Vahi hopes for profits the government will be receiving in the form of taxes on private businesses.

He said the new government would be a government of experts, not politicians. He said the members of the new Cabinet pledged to suspend their membership of political parties for the whole period they take government posts.

52 In Favor of Vahi

LD3001182292 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Report by unidentified ETA-TASS correspondent]

[Excerpt] Tallinn January 30 TASS—Tiit Vahi, the transport minister in the government of Edgar Savisaar, which resigned on January 28, was appointed new Estonian prime minister on Thursday [30 January]. Fifty-two parliamentarians voted in favour of him, while 24 abstained.

The new government can be called the government of experts, rather than politicians. Six former ministers joined it. [passage omitted]

Ministry of Trade Reorganized

LD3001222792 Tallinn Estonian Radio in English 2130 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] The Ministry of Trade has been re-organized. However, the ministry begins its new life from a very disadvantaged position says the manager of the domestic trade department, [name indistinct].

We are developing new structures just now. The new Ministry of Trade will be based on three former ministries—those of Material Resources, the old Ministry of Trade, and the former Department of Foreign Trade. The new Minister of Trade is to be Aleksandr Sikkal the former head of the Ministry of Resources.

Interior Minister Supports Right To Carry Arms

OW3001141892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1324 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Interior Minister Olev Lanjarv has told parliament that the Estonian citizens must be allowed to carry arms. He believes it is necessary to pass a special law on who can have this right and on what condition. Lanjarv said that weapons acquired illegally would be confiscated.

Currently, only people living in remote areas are licenced by police to have hunting guns.

Council Removes 3 Economic Commission Members

LD3101095392 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Supreme Council members Yuriy Yevstigneyev, Vladimir Lebedev, and Vladimir Malkovskiy were today excluded, by a resolution of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, from the composition of the Supreme Council's economic commission, at their own request. Klavdia Sergiy, member of the economic commission, asserted in an interview given to the Baltic News Service

that this was also the wish of other members of the commission, as the abovementioned deputies could not cope with their duties.

Further Details on Missile Misfiring Given

LD3101112492 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Statement released by the Estonian Foreign Ministry Information Department; date not given]

[Text] An incident—a false start—took place on 24 January near the resort town of Vosu, on the Estonian northern coast, at a missile base of the former USSR Army. A missile flew toward Kasmu, which is in the vicinity of Vosu, and fell into the sea. Three servicemen were taken to Rakvere Hospital from the military base. One died from the injuries he received, one had a leg amputated, and the third is in the hospital with burns.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Estonia draws the attention of the relevant Russian authorities and the world's public to the dangers which accompany the presence of the former USSR Army—currently under Russia's jurisdiction—on the territory of the Republic of Estonia. An accident which ends with loss of human life hints at the absence of any effective control over battle weaponry, as well as the acts of personnel, and this places the civilian population, as well as the military themselves, in danger.

The incident demonstrates vividly the need for the forces of the former USSR to be withdrawn from Estonian territory.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Estonia has requested an adequate explanation from the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation about the circumstances of the incident.

Russian Delegation on Troop Pullout Due 2 Feb

OW3001013892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1855 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The official representative of Russia in Estonia Oleg Popovich told BF [BALTFAX] that a Russian state delegation led by Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray arrives in Tallinn February 2 for talks on the fate of Russian forces stationed in Estonia.

The delegation is authorized to negotiate the presence or withdrawal of troops from the Baltics.

Gasoline, Diesel Prices To Increase 1 Feb

OW3001014092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1855 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On February 1 "Eesti Kutus" state-run company raises prices of fuels. A liter of A-76 gasoline will cost 13.27 rubles, AI-93—14.50 rubles, diesel fuel—10.05.

Despite the new prices, state-owned gas stations sell fuel to state-owned automobiles only.

A second fuel auction will be held in Tallinn January 30.

At the first auction January 10 an average price of a liter of A-76 was 12 rubles in cash or 18.80 transferrable rubles.

Bank Ready To Help

OW3101011392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the information department of the Bank of Estonia, Mr. Kaupo Pollisinski, has told our correspondent that the Bank is able to give the Eesti Kutus state-owned enterprise a daily credit of 10 mln [million] roubles to enable it to make advance payments for the fuel it receives from Russia.

According to the ETA news agency, Eesti Kutus has to pay 20 mln roubles a day.

Mr. Pollisinski said, however, that "even the Bank of Estonia will have problems if Russia fails to supply Estonia with fuel after the advance payments are made".

Latvia

Protest Sent Over Ship Repair Works Problem

LD3001125892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1111 GMT 26 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The Latvian Foreign Ministry has sent a note of protest to the Russian counterpart concerning an attempt to change the director of the Liyepaya ship-repairing works now transferred under the subordination of Latvia. The note says the Latvian side cannot understand the actions of the former USSR Navy and the Main Administration of Shipbuilding as regards the fulfillment of the order to retain the Liyepaya ship-repairing works in the subordination of the Army and change the director.

The note reminds the Russian counterparts that in November 1991 the enterprise, by the decision of the Latvian Supreme Council, was transferred under the jurisdiction of Latvia. The document says the Latvian Foreign Ministry is puzzled by what has happened and stresses that this kind of actions on the part of Russia are not conducive to resolving mute [as received] questions existing between the two states.

This has already been a second note sent to the Russian Foreign Ministry in the past two weeks as regards the troops of the former USSR stationed in Latvia. The first one was sent in mid January when the Northwestern Group of Troops of the former USSR, without notifying the government of Latvia, had planned manoeuvres on the territory of the Republic.

Customs Law Infraction by Military Protested

LD3001191792 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga January 30 TASS—The Latvian Foreign Ministry protested to Russia on Thursday [30 January] over the actions of military authorities in the republic who ship out cargoes without any customs checks.

A military ship disobeyed the orders of the Latvian customs on January 14 and left the port of Liepaja, presumably, with a load of ferrous metals. The head of the military port had not informed the customs on the planned sailing of the ship. Latvia qualified the actions as a violation of its laws, a protest to the Russian Foreign Ministry says.

Any means of transport crossing the Latvian border is liable to a customs check, according to new republican legislation. All the deals by the military are to be approved by the republican government after the Latvian parliament ruled to take over all military property on the territory of the country.

Railway Director Stops Incoming Goods Supplies

OW3101012692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia has stopped all its goods supplies to Latvia via the Daugavpils railway. The deputy head of the Daugavpils railway, Mr. Svyatoslav Bazilchik, has told a correspondent from the DIENA newspaper that a Russian customs post has been set up on Pytalovo station (Russia) whose staff, together with state security officers, have been holding up goods which were on the way to Latvia. Some of the wagons with such goods were towed away and put on side-tracks, others, e.g. oil tanks, were returned to their suppliers.

Mr. Bazilchik said there was also less cargo traffic from Latvia on the Daugavpils railway. Some time ago the Latvian parliament qualified the incorporation of some districts of Abzene region, including Pytalovo District, in Russia as illegitimate.

Protocal on Food, Energy Supplies Signed

LD3101041992 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] A protocol has been signed on mutual supplies of food and energy resources between the Republic of Latvia and the Russian Federation for the first quarter of this year, set at a value of $22.5 million. Ilmars (?Kirksis), deputy minister of foreign trade of Latvia, reports that the amount of energy resources that will be received from Russia in accordance with this agreement will not be enough to fully satisfy the needs of the Latvian national economy. But, at the moment we are not able to export more food. Russia does not want to exchange its energy resources for other goods of ours. Talks will continue because Latvian industry is urgently in need of Russian-manufactured metals and chemicals.

Border Jurisdiction To Be Transferred 1 Feb

LD3001162692 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The Latvian Defense Ministry has been instructed to start the transfer of the state border to the jurisdiction and guard of the national border troops as of 1 February, RIA news agency reports.

This decision was adopted at a government meeting. The Foreign Ministry is instructed to immediately start the process of restoring borders with Russia, Estonia, Belarus, and Lithuania. A special government commission will be tackling issues related to the remanning, provision, and billeting of troops. It is also envisaged that the border control department at Riga airport, control points at sea ports, and checkpoints will be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Latvian border troops.

Resolution Designed To Monitor Military Sites

LD3101094692 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia has today adopted a resolution to charge the administrations of regions, towns, and rural districts with enumerating and monitoring all the sites on the territories of these administrations that are under military authority, as well as presenting to the government of the Republic of Latvia their recommendations for the future possible use of these sites.

This resolution has been made because the command of the Northwestern Military Group, the Baltic Fleet, the Antiaircraft Command, and the commanders of military units under them are ignoring the laws of the Republic of Latvia and allowing the wasting of property.

Official Notes Readiness To Introduce Coupons

OW3101013692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a meeting with British industrialists in London yesterday, Latvian Deputy Foreign Minister Maris Gailis said Latvia was ready to introduce the "Latvian rouble" (or "white money", a type of coupons) on January 30 or next week. As for the national Latvian currency, the lat, this, Mr. Gailis said, would be introduced by the end of this year.

Borderguard Deprived of Deputy Mandate

OW3101012492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian parliament yesterday cancelled the deputy's mandate of the former commander of the Borderguard Forces of the Baltic Military District, Valentin Gaponenko. On August 29, 1991, the Latvian parliament passed a decision in accordance with which its deputies serving in the Armed Forces had either to resign their commission or give up their mandates before December 16, 1991. Gaponenko is still in the service.

Consular Relations With Taiwan Established

OW3101013392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans and Taiwan First Deputy Foreign Minister Chang Hsiao-yen signed a joint statement in Riga yesterday on the establishment of consular relations between the two countries. Consulates general will in the near future be opened in Riga and Taipei. Meanwhile the Chinese envoy to Latvia, Mr. Cheng Di, expressed regret over the reception of the Taiwan diplomat by parliament head Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis. Mr. Cheng Di pointed out that in the protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Latvia the latter pledged not to establish consular relations with Taiwan in the near future.

In an interview given to the DIENA newspaper, a senior official in the Latvian Foreign Ministry said the Latvian-Taiwan agreement "has nothing to do with our political interests. It is our economic needs that have made us establish consular relations with Taiwan, since the latter can give us serious economic assistances." He said Latvia was interested in maintaining good relations with both China and Taiwan and that a Latvian-Chinese trade agreement was being prepared.

Lithuania

Vagnorius Interviewed on Moscow Negotiations

LD3001165292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius by Irina Sklipovich, Lithuanian Radio Russian programs presenter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Sklipovich] What are the results of the prime minister's meeting in Moscow?

[Vagnorius] Yesterday's meeting caused concern to all of us, despite the agreement which was signed in December last year, the agreement which had been reached even naming specific figures, as well as the agreement between President Yeltsin and our chairman, Mr. Landsbergis on the necessity of observing these signed agreements. In January these agreements failed to be implemented, and because of this we went to Moscow with one main aim: Our trade and economic agreement with Russia.

Indeed, our conversation was rather difficult, because certain economic agencies, for various reasons, seemed to have made efforts to have specific paragraphs of the agreement revised and to revise the quotas on certain products, primarily the supplies of oil and gas. It was proposed to reduce the supply of oil from 6 million tonnes to 2 million tonnes, to demand that this amount of oil be paid for in dollars, although of course neither Russia nor we have dollars at the moment. We can only exchange goods or trade using the currency which is available today.

Of course, Lithuania would not go bankrupt if it had to purchase oil for hard currency. However, one has to be prepared. We must also sell our goods for hard currency, including those we sell to Russia.

Today we have already established certain contacts with foreign companies, oil companies, which proposed to sell us oil and to buy certain goods and raw materials from us. [passage omitted]

After long debates we managed to reach an agreement which states that during the first quarter of this year the supply quotas that were established in our agreement will be observed. At present we will pay for oil in rubles—naturally, a rather higher price—however, we will sell our resourses, including energy, and other commodities which we supply to neighboring republics accordingly at a higher price. [passage omitted]

[Sklipovich] Was there any political pressure at the talks?

[Vagnorius] We touched on some aspects of the problem of the Armed Forces, including the fact that the Lithuanian Government is also looking for ways to help the families of the servicemen, especially those who will have to be transferred from Lithuania to another location, to help them to resettle. [passage omitted] We

demonstrated our awareness of the complexity of this problem, and I think that this stance adopted by us is also in a way reflected in our relationship. Our relationship in this respect is normal; what I mean is, I do not think that we should threaten the servicemen or others—rather, the contrary. I understand that it is not Lithuania which is to blame and that it is not we who have to pay the costs or think how the army should be withdrawn. This is Russia's problem. Yet, despite this, we nevertheless understand that all the world today is concerned about reducing tension in this region, and Lithuania is also making its contribution. [passage omitted]

Russian Delegation Arrives for Troop Talks

Led by Shakray

LD3101111692 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] A delegation from the Russian Federation for negotiations with the Baltic states arrived today in Vilnius. The delegation is led by Sergey Shakhray, Russian vice prime minister and state adviser on legal policy. The delegation is to discuss political and military issues, including the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

In addition to Sergey Shakhray, the delegation includes Yuriy Zaytsev, chairman of the citizenship commission attached to the Russian president; Aleksandr Kotenkov, deputy chairman of the defense and protection committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet; Minister Vladimir Mashits, chairman of the state committee for economic cooperation with the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States; Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation; and Yevgeniy Kozhokin, deputy chairman of the commission on international affairs and external economic relations of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Another 27 experts and advisers also arrived.

The Republic of Lithuania will be represented by Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius; Minister of National Defense Audrius Butkevicius; Minister Without Portfolio Aleksandras Abisala; Deputy Foreign Minister Gediminas Serksnys; Saulius Peceliunas, chairman of the commiission on national defense and internal affairs of the Lithuanian Supreme Council; Supreme Council Presidium member Mecys Laurinkus; and Supreme Council Deputy Egidijus Jarasiunas.

The meeting will start at 1100 at Draugyste Hotel.

Deputies Comment on Baltic Council Talks

LD3101115992 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1410 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Broadcast from the Supreme Council radio station on 27 January: "The State Study"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified reporter] Today we are going to talk about the first plenary session of the Baltic Council, which ended yesterday in Riga. [passage omitted] A meeting took place with high-ranking military officials of the northwestern army group. The meeting was of great importance. [passage omitted] Lithuanian Supreme Council members Malkevicius and Ozolas tell more in detail about this meeting:

[Malkevicius] This meeting was the cornerstone in the work of the council. Today there is no more important problem for Lithuania than the withdrawal of the occupation army. The very fact that for the first time the military attended, including high-ranking officers such as Colonel General Mironov, who is the commander of all military formations in the Baltic states, shows that the situation is changing, as is the military attitude.

At the beginning their behavior was confrontational. They are not used to listening when somebody advises them. The speech by Mironov started with various reproaches, such as not being informed in advance about the parliament and reproaches about the behavior of our statesmen. The Latvian chairman managed very quickly to put them in their place. He explained that this is parliament, making them understand that they are not in military barracks.

[Reporter] [Word indistinct] said that the generals have arrived to educate the parliamentarians. Was this just a play on words, or did it really happen?

[Malkevicius] It looked as if they wanted to educate us, but it did not happen. It was they who were educated; they changed their tune after talking to us. They understand that they are not completely justified, and that the presence of a foreign army in an independent country is not compatible with any logic or international law. We had to explain this to them. It seems that they understand.

I would like to mention another interesting moment during the conversation. When we explained that it was most important to us that this army pull out as soon as possible, Mironov said that the Lithuanian Government does not want this; they want to pull out some units. We protested. This is pure pressure; one could even call it blackmail. They want to pull out units guarding the Ignalina nuclear power station and the anti-aircraft defense [word indistinct]. You understand that this would be very dangerous, because then a second Chernobyl could happen. This should be coordinated somehow. Making use of this, they wanted to show what would happen with withdrawal. This was explained to them. Further conversations show that they have assessed the situation.

I was approached by the commander of the anti-aircraft defense, and he started talking about what kind of cooperation we should have so that he can have connections with Kaliningrad and bring fuel and food from there. I explained to him that he could apply to our government to get permission if his permission is not valid [as heard].

It is also interesting that we learned about the precise number of the Army. There are 128,000 troops in all three Baltic states, 13,000 noncommissioned officers, 806 military objects [as heard], and various units.

[Reporter] Can one believe these figures? It was stated recently that there were about 90,000 troops in Lithuania.

[Malkevicius] I personally would not believe this. We are convinced that they often disregard the truth. This was officially stated, however.

[Reporter] Esteemed Ozolas, what is your impression of this meeting?

[Ozolas] The general has clearly admitted that this army is to be withdrawn. This is positive. This is a psychological turning point [words indistinct]. The Army accepts that the solutions regarding their lives must be made through political negotiations. This was mentioned by Lopatin, who represents the Russian leadership and who is an expert in military affairs. He has made a very contradictory impression, to put it mildly, especially in terms of the principles he explained. I would think that the negotiations, which should start soon, will not be easy. Lopatin stated very clearly that Russia does not wish to regard military formations in the Baltic states as an occupation army. This is a rather dangerous attitude. As he stated, Russia never considered this to be an occupation army, although in our treaty with Russia it is clearly stated that aggression has taken place and the tool for this was an occupation army. Thus, an attempt to dissociate from the term occupation would mean that Russia is laying claim to all the Army property in the Baltic states; otherwise the occupation army would leaves and all property would remain in the occupied country. The second principle he proclaimed stated that the Russian Army's property here is the property of Russia.

We say: If you wish, take everything, only leave as soon as possible. Latvia and Estonia have stated that they are taking over this property as their state property. Their parliaments have adopted corresponding decisions on this and it will be discussed during the negotiations. I would not like to comment on any of these views.

The third point is very important: Lopatin proposed that a differentiated assessment be applied to various Army units, stressing that strategic armaments should be assessed by other criteria, thus emphasizing in a veiled manner, but later openly, that this concerns bases. The problem of the bases will be raised at the negotiations. We stated at the beginning that there could be no talk about any bases. The stories that they are allegedly needed to ensure the security of Europe do not correpend with reality, because we have had discussions with Western experts and know that the security of Europe will gain more if there are no strategic arms here. [passage omitted]

The fourth and the most serious moment is that he wished to link the withdrawal of the Army with the supply of its people, its officers and soldiers, with living space, with a roof over their heads, and other social guarantees. We stated very clearly that the withdrawal of the Army is a political issue; therefore, it should not be replaced by a social issue. If a political solution is taking place, then the solutions on social issues must be matched with it—not the other way around. Finally, it would be strange if we started building installations, as if paying some debt to the withdrawing army.

There are many such illogical matters. To tell the truth, they are not completely new. It is a Soviet attitude. This stunned me most. The new representatives of the Russian authorities are in many cases being guided in their thinking by Soviet stereotypes. It will be difficult to overcome them, because the Soviet Union's nomenklatura is such a tired nomenklatura. This new one is active and very resolute. It will be very difficult to talk to them.

We appealed to Yeltsin very clearly stating that we expect goodwill, that we think that the immediate withdrawal of the army is the basic aim of our negotiations, that the schedule must be very concise, and that the withdrawal of the army from the state capital must start without delay. The appeal was drawn up very precisely and clearly. I think that it will get a good response. [passage omitted]

Sabotage Attempt at Ignalina Station Thwarted

Suspect Arrested

LD3001213892 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The government information bureau reports that it was established a few days ago that a technical official at the Ignalina nuclear power station [AES] had deliberately attempted to disrupt the work of a nuclear reactor and create a dangerous situation.

The government has taken immediate steps. With the efforts of nuclear energy and other experts, it has been possible to eliminate the disruption. The reactors are operating normally. The workers at the Ignalina AES and police and state security officials have effectively exposed violations. The suspect who attempted to carry out this sabotage has been arrested. Criminal proceedings have been instituted and an investigation is being carried out by the the Procuracy and police interrogators.

The government draws the attention of the leaders and experts of the Ministry of Power Engineering to the fact that it is essential, by all possible means, to guarantee stable and safe work of fuel, gas, and other systems.

Stoppage Not 'Subversive Act'

LD3001230792 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] It has been announced today that the way was barred to a possible subversive act at the Ignalina nuclear power plant in northeastern Lithuania. The first reactor

of the power plant, however, was stopped due to a minor fault today, but specialists assert the failure had nothing to do with a subversive act.

The press bureau of the government informed that it has been recently disclosed that one of the technical personnel of the nuclear power plant had consciously tried to derange the work of a nuclear reactor and thus cause a dangerous situation. The person has been arrested and legal investigation into the case has begun.

According to the announcement of the government press bureau, the incident had no effect upon the normal work of the two reactors. As Radio Vilnius was told by Deputy Minister of Power Engineering Saulius Kutas, the suspect set a program virus into the computer system of the plant. He noted, however, that the particular program equipment was not in control of the nuclear reactor itself but of the subsidiary systems.

The derangements in the program are said to have been corrected. Deputy Minister of Power Engineering Saulius Kutas categorically rejected any link between the subversive act and the minor failure due to which the first reactor was stopped at 6 P.M. today.

The cause of the stoppage was a leak in a pipe of the emergency cooling system of the reactor. The water in that system is not radioactive; there is no contamination of the premises or any other damage done to the power plant. The defect in the emergency cooling system is expected to be rectified by 8 February.

Temporary Economic Emergency Commission Formed

LD3101035892 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] To avoid a fall in [word indistinct] production and to stabilize the economic situation, the Goverment of the Republic of Lithuania has decided to from a Temporary Government Commission on the Economic State of Emergency. Albertas Simenas has been appointed its chairman. [passage indistinct]

Brazauskas Candidacy Raised at Party Meeting

LD3001130792 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, Supreme Council Deputy Algirdas Brazauskas, has not ruled out the possibility of raising his candidacy for the Lithuanian presidency in future elections.

At a meeting of the parliamentary leftist faction in Naujoji Vilnia, which was also attended by Algirdas Brazauskas, it was announced that the Democratic Labor Party intends to submit his candidacy. However, Algirdas Brazauskas himself makes a careful assessment of future elections. He remarked at the meeting that this was a long story.

Britain Returns Lithuania's Gold

LD3001225492 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Speaking in a TV broadcast on Sunday [26 January] about the visit to Great Britain, Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis commented with satisfaction that Great Britain had returned Lithuania's gold stored in the Bank of England. Recalling the discussion over the Lithuanian government's actions regarding the Republic's gold in the Bank of France when part of the regained bullion was sold Vytautas Landsbergis said that gold was a more reliable thing than money, bonds or any buildings. [passage omitted]

The Lithuanian gold, 2900 kg, is now estimated at 35 (?billion) dollars. Vytautas Landsbergis also remarked in his televised speech that the unfinished case of the Baltic states' gold was a little bit burdening the historical conscience of our very friendly neighbours the Swedes.

The adviser of the Lithuanian parliament Ramunas Bogdanas reaffirmed at today's briefing that last week Vytautas Landsbergis and the British Prime Minister John Major had reached an agreement that the parties had no property claims to each other.

Illegal Fishing Boat Invokes Military Help

LD3001140392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Russian fishing boats have failed to comply with Lithuania's Environmental Protection Department demands to cease fishing operations within the Lithuania economic zone limits.

Yesterday, the Lithuanian Environmental Protection Department's inspection boat Vetra encountered some Leningrad area boats, fishing for cod, in Baltic Sea waters, near Nida. Since Lithuania has not given permission for Russian boats to fish in its economic zone waters, a demand was issued for the nearest boat to follow the inspection boat. A warning was also issued that in the event this was not complied with, the boat would be towed to the port of Klaipeda to register a violation.

The captain failed to obey, and called some military boats to his assistance. In the face of the danger that the Russian military might resort to the use of weapons, the Lithuanian inspection boat was forced to withdraw.

Meanwhile, the Leningrad boats continue their fishing.